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Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

DAUDI YUSTO KINSHAGA

Date of Birth — Date de naissance	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance TANZANIA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

C/o KISIRIRI LUTHERAN CHURCH
P.O. Box 127
KIOMBOI/IRAMBA
SINGIDA REGION. TANZANIA.

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RURAL GRADUATES' PERSPECTIVES OF THE POST-FUNCTIONAL LITERACY CURRICULUM IN TANZANIA

(A CASE STUDY OF MLOWA BARABARANI)

by

©

DAUDI YUSTO KINSHAGA

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PERMANENT ADDRESS:

c/o Kisiriri Lutheran Church
P.O. Box 127
Kiomboi/Iramba
Singida Region
Tanzania, East Africa

DATED December 11 ...1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Rural Graduates' Perspectives of the Post-Functional Literacy Program in Tanzania" submitted by Daudi Yusto Kinshaga in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Don Massey
Supervisor

Mary N. Young

Daiyo Sawada

External Examiner

Date December 11, 1984

DEDICATION

To my family: my parents Mzee Yusto Sha-Kinshaga and Mama Na-Daudi for their love and encouragement, my wife Wazaino, for her love, encouragement, sacrifice and perseverance in shouldering a heavy family responsibility, my children Michael who broke his right arm during my absence in June 1984 in a hit and run car accident and Mary, Esther, Isaac, Paul and Mwelu for their affection and patience; and to educators and change agents of Tanzania, here is our challenge:

> Men living in poverty or sickness or under tyranny or exploitation must be enabled to recognize both that the life they lead is miserable, and that they can change it by their own action, either individually or in co-operation. (Nyerere, 1976, in H. Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 50)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to attempt to understand the rural graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy program. The researcher tried to understand the impact which the program had on the graduates' lives. He focussed on both covert and overt changes in the graduates' behaviour.

The major goal of the post-functional literacy curriculum in Tanzania was to enable the learners to develop as "the total citizens" who could effectively function socially, culturally, politically and economically in the society.

In order to understand the impact of the curriculum on its graduates, the researcher became a member of Mlowa Barabarani Community Education Centre's staff in Dodoma Region, Tanzania for a period of five months. Werner's (1977a) situational perspective of sense-making of a program was used as a central conceptual framework to the study. This framework was based on an ethnographic approach of participant-observation. Several data collection strategies were used. These included observation, interviews and document analysis. Guiding questions were used to uncover the graduates' various viewpoints. The questions helped the researcher in uncovering the contextual influences on the graduates' learning. Second, the effects of the acquired learning on the learners' lives.

It was revealed that the acquired learning that had an impact on the graduates' lives was influenced by a number of contextual factors. The need to acquire literacy skills and knowledge in agriculture, health and political education, animal husbandry and language(s) was

among the factors. The graduates perceived literacy text books based on these subject areas to be beneficial to them. Not all the graduates liked story books per se. They liked those books which provided them with both literacy skills and knowledge.

However, the graduates had some concerns regarding inadequacy of literacy text books as well as stationery. Because of these shortages, most graduates lacked writing and computation skills. Some teaching/learning strategies used by the teachers and the graduates' class attendance were unsatisfactory. Further, the period of theoretical teaching season was considered to be short by some graduates. And most graduates had not been given any feedback of their National Adult Education Literacy Examination results.

Although the graduates expressed their concerns about some of the contextual factors which might have impeded learning, their acquired education had an impact on their lives. Most graduates said their life had become better than it had been before their enrollment in the program. Some perceived their social relationship with their family members, government, political and religious leaders to have improved. They had gained confidence in themselves and had stopped fearing any of the leaders. Their fear had been replaced by respect. They had also stopped believing in foodstuff taboos. They had also begun using medical and veterinary services. Moreover, some had begun using their acquired literacy skills by playing various roles in the community such as catechists and representative members in the village government.

The impact of the program could also be perceived by the researcher through the graduates' perspectives and some observable changes. The graduates revealed that they had learned from the program concerning, among other things, the importance of constructing and using latrines, garbage pits, 'vichanja' (simple constructed structures made of sticks on which washed dishes are put in order to dry), planting crops in rows, drinking boiled water and planting trees where there were none. But most graduates did not take any initiative to apply their acquired knowledge until the village government directed them to do so. The village government, under its socio-economic development program, intervened in order to bring the changes needed or to arrest crisis in case of cholera which occurred in 1982/83. But the graduates applied their acquired knowledge only when they perceived it to be beneficial to them and compatible with their value system.

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

Introduction

The post-functional literacy program in Tanzania is aimed at enabling the adult pupil to develop as "the total citizen, not simply the citizen as a producer" (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 104). To be functionally effective, as the report puts it, a functional literacy program should be concerned with social, cultural, political as well as purely economic aspects of development. There are two basic major questions that are often raised by prospective adult participants and/or adult pupils of the program. First, "Is there anything new which is worthwhile to be learned by people of our age?" Second, "What are the prospects for the graduates of the post-functional literacy program?" The second question may be reflected in the much quoted legitimate response from the prospective participants and/or adult pupils: "After we become literate, will you give us a job in your offices?" (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 132).

In order to understand graduates of a functional literacy program, the researcher became a member of a village "Community Education Centre's (CEC)" staff for five months. Mlowa Barabarani CEC in Dodoma Region, Tanzania was selected by the researcher for this purpose. The CEC at Mlowa Barabarani has facilities for teaching/learning for both children and adults.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to attempt to understand the rural graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum. An attempt was made to describe and interpret the perspective of the rural graduates at Mlowa Barabarani. This included their cultural background, values and intentions brought to the functional literacy program, the foundational assumptions of the program, the extent to which the program has had an impact on the lives of the graduates, the perceived strengths and concerns of the program and how the program could be improved. The study sought to uncover the meaning which the curriculum had for the graduates.

According to Zais (1976), students form an important source of evaluation data. Follow up studies of graduates of curriculum and/or their associates are vital if summative evaluation is to have any validity. The purpose of this kind of study was to attempt to understand different points of view of the graduates and to determine how and with what criteria they judged the program (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 210). The study had four major purposes which were aimed at understanding the post-functional literacy curriculum through the eyes of the graduates of the program:

1. What were the graduates' cultural background, values and intentions brought to the program?
2. What the graduates learned from the program;
3. The extent to which the program has had an impact on the lives of these rural graduates; and
4. The perceived strengths and weaknesses of the post-functional

literacy curriculum.

Background to the Study

The Rationale and the Goal for the Functional Literacy Programs

The rationale and need for involving illiterate adults in functional literacy programs are based on the assumption that there is a positive correlation or relationship between literacy and national or per capita income (Hanson, 1966; Roy, 1967; Coombs, 1968; Gardiner, 1971; Shah & Bhan, 1980).

Functional literacy programs appear to be aimed specifically at eradicating illiteracy which is associated with "social, political, scientific and technological backwardness" (Kidd, 1977, p. 19). Bodet (1951, p. 7) also views illiteracy as being "part of a tragic circle of underproduction, malnutrition" which "cannot be broken by an attack on only one of these elements." Furthermore, Styler (1966, p. 69) sees the illiterate as "not just someone who cannot read and write, but illiteracy includes other disabilities such as the capacity to grasp ideas and situations which demand abstraction." Illiteracy is viewed as the major handicap to all individual and national development and a close correlation exists between illiteracy and poverty (Rycroft & Clemmer, 1965; Bataille, 1976).

By contrast, literacy is associated with social and economic development. For example, in emphasizing the importance of literacy and education in general, Bordia, Kidd and Draper (1978) state:

> Without education . . . there can be no worthwhile social and economic development both for the promotion of economic and social development and which simultaneously is the main

> beneficiary of economic and social development, requires that there is education on a mass scale. (p. 175)

Furthermore, Maheu (1966, p. 23) summarizes the rationale for promoting literacy by saying: "Just as illiteracy is an integral part of underproduction, so the promotion of literacy must be an integral part of development."

An overview of the literature on literacy indicates that there is a positive correlation between literacy and national or per capita income. Since literacy is seen as an integral part of development, it seems logical that the success in implementing development policies depends on, among other things, the quality of the adults who are engaged in the production process (Ng'wandu, 1973, p. iv). This means that the adults should be educated if their attitudes are going to have an immediate impact on economic development. President Nyerere of Tanzania, for instance, in an official address to Parliament during the inauguration of the First Five Year Development Plan, 1968-1969 (cited in Hall & Remtulla, 1973, p. 84), declared:

> First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitude of the adults, on the other hand, has an impact now.

In order to enable the illiterate adults to function effectively in a society, it seems that the kind of literacy provided should be functional. The program should deal with social, political, cultural and economic aspects of development. For example, the World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy which met in Teheran in 1965 stressed that literacy should not be an end in itself, and that reading and writing should lead:

> . . . to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world and should ultimately open the way to basic human culture. (The World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy Report, 1965, p. 7)

Furthermore, the International Development Centre (IDRC) perceives literacy as being functional if it arouses in the pupil "a critical awareness of social reality, enabling him or her to understand, master and transform the reality" (1979, p. 7). Further, the IDRC Report (1979) elaborating on this point says:

> "Functional literacy" means more than the ability just to function economically and should not be tied exclusively to such things as growing cotton. (IDRC Report, 1979, p. 7)

The IDRC Report (1979) goes on and points out that:

> . . . In fact evidence from the evaluation of the Experimental World Literacy programme indicated: "to be effective, functional literacy should deal with political, cultural and social aspects of development as well as purely economic ones." (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 35, cited in IDRC Report, 1979, p. 7)

Scribner and Cole (1978, p. 18) state similar views held in their time on literacy instruction that it is justified not simply "as a means to material advancement for the individual and society, but as a means of transforming minds." M'Bow (1975) sees the functional aspect of the program as being designed to assist in raising the level of awareness of the new literates and provide them with an opportunity to work more effectively in order to improve their own situation. Further, the International Symposium for Literacy (1975), expressing similar views on the goal of the program, issued the Declaration of Persepolis which considered literacy to be:

> . . . not just the process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, but a contribution to the liberation of man and his full development. Thus conceived, literacy

> creates the conditions for the acquisition of critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and its aims, it also stimulates initiative and his participation in the creation of projects capable of acting upon the world, of transforming it, defining the aims and authentic human development. (Cited in Bhola, 1979, p. 38)

Freire (cited in Hinzen & Hunsdorfer, 1979, p. 154 by Kassam) also suggested that there was a need to involve the illiterate adults in the process of "conscientization" that could change their pessimistic and fatalistic perspective on reality and help them to acquire a "critical vision of their environment and an awareness of their capacity and means to change this environment" (p. 154). Since education was expected to create critical awareness in the graduates, Nyerere (cited in Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979) suggested that technical and practical education should be an education for creators and not for creatures. To Nyerere, education which only enabled man to formulate elaborate schemes for universal peace, for instance, but did not educate him to provide good food for himself and his family, was incomplete. And it was equally incomplete and counterproductive if it simply taught man how to make and use tools efficiently but neglected "his personality and his relationship with his fellow human beings" (p. 43).

The Tanzanian Functional Literacy Program

Announcing the results of the Fourth National Adult Education Literacy Examination held in 1983, the Tanzanian Minister for National Education, Ndugu Jackson Makweta (1984) said that out of 6,156,777 Tanzanians who were illiterate, 3,802,491 have become literate. The figure for the literates which was based on the National

Adult Education Literacy Examination results of 1975, 1977, 1981 and 1983 represented 85 percent. According to definitions and levels adopted, a literate individual in the Tanzanian context as Mpogolo (1980, pp. 56-59; Kassam, 1978) put it, was a person "who had achieved levels III and IV in reading, writing and arithmetic combined was considered as a literacy graduate." And a person who had achieved level IV was considered as functionally literate. On the whole, "literacy achievement was assessed" on a continuum (Kassam, 1978, p. 66). Literacy definitions and levels I to IV appear as Appendix A of this thesis. But 15 percent of the population are still illiterate in the country and need functional literacy programs. Moreover, the literacy achieved must be maintained through post-functional literacy programs (Makweta, 1984).

In a functional literacy program as Maheu (1970) puts it, the teaching of reading, writing and occupational training are integrated activities (p. 9). Maheu elaborates that functional literacy adopts an overall approach which is directly related to the acquisition of technical skills and knowledge of direct utility in a given environment. The Tanzania government was among the eleven developing countries which adopted the functional literacy program because it was conceived to be more directly linked to production than other methods (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976; Mpogolo, 1980). The project's specific objectives, as cited in the UNESCO/UNDP Report (1976), included:

1. Teaching men and women basic reading and writing, and solving simple problems of arithmetic, using as basic vocabularies the words employed in current agricultural and industrial practice.
2. Helping them apply the new knowledge and skills to solve

their basic economic and social problems.

3. Preparing them for more efficient participation in the development of their village, region and country.
4. Integrating the adult literacy and adult education programmes with the general agricultural and industrial development of the country.
5. Providing the necessary reading materials, imparting the knowledge of community and home economics, which would help improve family and community life, providing opportunity for continuing education and avoiding relapse into illiteracy. (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 104)

The Functional Literacy Program was initially introduced in four rural regions in Tanzania in 1968, as part of a five-year Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP) (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976; SIDA Report, 1970; Mpogolo, 1980). The EWLP was a joint venture between the UNESCO/UNDP and Tanzania government (Maheu, 1970). Following the adoption of the functional literacy program in the country, all primary schools became centres of education for both children and adults and all teachers became teachers for children and adults (Mhaiki & Hall, 1972).

Since the government's policy in the Second Five Year Development Plan placed emphasis on development in rural areas, eight Community Education Centres (CECs) were constructed in Dodoma Region in the 1970s on an experimental basis. They were to facilitate teaching/learning for both children and adults (Mpokera, 1980, p. viii). Each CEC, which Chiwanga in his preface (1974) termed "a total school," provided integrated services of education, health, agriculture, small-scale industries, cultural, administrative, and recreational facilities and a village library.

The literacy program for adults in general was divided into two major components, namely, functional literacy (or as generally known in Kiswahili, "Kisomo Chenye Manufaa (KCM)") and post-functional literacy (or Kiswahili equivalent—"Kisomo Cha Kujiendeleza (KCK)"). The program for functional literacy classes was outlined in a publication issued by the Ministry of National Education, titled: Basic Facts about Education in Tanzania (1979). It included reading, writing and arithmetic in Kiswahili language. The text which was used comprised a summary of one or two vocational ideas or skills. For post-functional literacy classes, the program included compulsory subjects: Kiswahili, Political Education, Mathematics and Agriculture. Pupils could opt any three of these subjects: Domestic Science, Technical Education, Geography, History and English (Mosha, Interview, February 7, 1984).

A class usually had about thirty pupils taught by a primary or secondary school teacher or a college of national education teacher or primary school leavers who were the majority of literacy teachers, or a government or a voluntary organization employee (Mpogolo, 1980). A class was scheduled to meet three times weekly. According to the schedule, peasants could attend classes in the afternoons while workers could do so during the official working hours. The class sessions were divided into a theoretical teaching season from May to November and a practical season which covered December to April (Mpogolo, 1980). During the practical season, no formal classes were scheduled. The literacy pupils were expected to apply on their farms practically the theory they had learned during the theoretical season. The pupils could meet at the demonstration plots during the practical season

(Mpogolo, 1980). These demonstration plots were to be conducted for the literacy pupils and other members of the community by Agricultural Extension Officers working closely with literacy teachers (Mpogolo, 1980).

Definition of Terms

Attitudes refer to patterns of response which are among stated curriculum objectives. Attitudes are learned and have cognitive, affective and action components (Kidd, 1973).

Content refers to knowledge such as facts, explanations, principles and definitions, skills and processes comprising of reading, calculating, decision making, communications and dancing; and values, namely beliefs about matters concerned with good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful and ugly (Hyman, 1973, p. 4).

Culture. Several authors have defined culture in various ways. For example, Spindler (1963) says:

> Culture . . . is a traditionally patterned, shared system of beliefs about reality that reassures the individual that life is worthwhile, that he knows the truth, and that by following the truth as he knows it he will be protected by his group and by his gods . . . each culture selects certain conditions of living, certain objects of possession, certain characteristics of personality, as more desirable than others (Mering, 1961, Kluckholm & Strodbeck, 1961). And these desirables are seen as motivating people to behave in acceptable and worthwhile ways as underlying complex and highly specific manners and customs. (Spindler, 1963, pp. 20-30)

According to Ryan (1969, pp. 7-9), a culture is:

> . . . composed of "things" not interacting people. The "things" which compose culture would include norms, symbolic meanings as in language, technologies and artifacts, concepts of good and evil, the meaning of life and the understanding of science. The concept of culture relates to the body of knowledge

> and technique and values through which a society directs and expresses its life as interacting, functioning group entity.

To Edward B. Taylor (as cited in Schusky & Culbert, 1967) culture is:

> . . . that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (p. 35)

Further, Pelto (1965) defines culture as:

> . . . a total lifeway, not just a superficial set of customs. It largely shapes how man feels, behaves, and perceives as he adapts to his world. (p. 68)

Moreover, Zais (1976), in his discussion on "complexity of the concept of culture," says:

> . . . culture defines an accepted way of life: it includes . . . easily observed facets of living, such as material products, political and social organizations, characteristic vocations, modes of dress, goods, games . . . The most powerful controlling aspects of a culture tend to be submerged . . . This submerged or hidden aspect of a culture consists of an interlocking fabric of ideas of thought that individuals in the social group adhere to at the "gut level." (p. 157)

All the definitions given for culture seem to include both observable facets of living and submerged or hidden aspects of a culture. The concept of culture as used here refers to shared knowledge, technique and values which are the products "of learning rather than of heredity" (Shapiro, 1957, p. 247); and through culture the rural graduates of the program conducted and expressed their life as interacting and functioning individuals within the society.

Curriculum and program are used interchangeably. A curriculum is a written plan which shows the "scope and arrangement of the projected educational program" (Beauchamp, 1975, p. 1963).

Development. Several authors have defined the term development and have come up with various interpretations. To Kassam and Masisi

(1975), for instance, "development refers to the new concept of development which is man-centred and puts emphasis on the development of people rather than things" (p. 129).

The United Nations views development as:

> An improvement in the standards of living . . . comprising of nine components: health, food consumption and nutrition, education, employment and conditions of work, housing, social security, clothing, recreation and human freedom. (Adiseshiel, cited in Gardiner, 1971, p. 17)

Ishumi (1976) defines development as being an advance from a lower, less satisfying and less peaceful stage to a higher, satisfying and emancipating condition. Goulet (cited in Ishumi, 1976) conceives development not only as a process but a terminal goal which represents the happiness of man. Then Ishumi summarizes the concept of development by saying: ". . . development is an achievement that represents not only a material but also a cultural and psychological uplift of man" (Ishumi, 1976, pp. 4-5).

The concept of development as used here refers to an achievement that embraces "a material, . . . a cultural and psychological uplift of man" (Ishumi, 1976, p. 5).

Ends comprises intended objectives and outcomes (Werner, 1977a, p. 3).

Means refers to teaching/learning strategies which Werner (1977a, p. 3) terms "teaching methods, students' activities, materials and resources."

Perspectives comprise a blend of beliefs, values, motives and expectations and behaviours upon which the individuals' "perceived situations determine their alternative actions and judge the worth of their anticipated interactions" (Field, 1983, p. 4; Garvie, 1983, p. 37).

Politics refers to the science and art of government: the science which deals with the form, organization, and administration of the state or part of one, and with the regulation of its relations with other states (Friedrichsen, 1973, p. 1630).

Social, group and society are terms which are part of interrelationships among people because all of them indicate "man interacting with other men" (Ryan, 1969, pp. 7-8).

Value refers to a principle, a standard or a quality which is considered worthwhile or desirable. A value assists people in deciding whether certain objects such as ideas, decisions, persons, statements, actions are good or bad, right or wrong, desirable or worthless, important or insignificant (Mehlinger, 1981, p. 193).

The Kiswahili pronunciation. Some non-Kiswahili speakers may experience problems in pronouncing some Kiswahili words used in this dissertation. However, as Safari (1980) puts it, it is easy to pronounce Kiswahili words provided one observes the rules. According to Safari (1980, pp. 1-2), the Kiswahili F is pronounced as the English *f* in "*fit*," "*fair*" and not as the *f* in "*of*" that sounds like the *v* in Kiswahili.

G is hard as in English "go," "good"

S as the *s* in "soft" and not the *s* in "visit"

CH is pronounced as in "change" and "check"

DH as the *th* in "father," "feather"

SH as "shake

TH as in "thin" and "think."

In Kiswahili, there are five vowels. Each of them has only one sound (Safari, 1980). These vowels are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. They are pronounced as follows:

a as the *a* in "father"; e.g. *baba*, "father"

e as the *e* in "weigh"; e.g. *wewe*, "you"

i as the *ee* in "see"; e.g. *sisi*, "we"

o as the *aw* in "law"; e.g. *soko*, "market"

u as the *oo* in "cook"; e.g. *kuku*, "hen."

The accent in Kiswahili is constant. "It falls on the second to last syllable, e.g., *Kitabu*, "book" (Safari, 1980, p. 2). The word *bara'bara*, "exactly," is the only exception to the rule. The accent is on the third from last syllable. "This distinguishes it from another word with the same spelling" (Safari, 1980, p. 2): *baraba'ra*, "road." In this word, the accent is "on the second from last syllable" (Safari, 1980, p. 2).

Significance of the Study

This study attempted to understand the post-functional literacy curriculum from the graduates of the program's own perspectives. By doing so, it was hoped that the findings would contribute to a more realistic understanding of the program in relation to helping the graduates develop fully as the "total citizens." The information would be useful to: the program designers in making modifications; teachers of the program in terms of delivery and decision makers concerned with social, cultural, political and economic returns of the program.

There is some information regarding different aspects of the impact of the post-functional literacy curriculum on the lives of the graduates of the program. But much of this information is either presented from the literates with their "own conceived notions and class biases" rather than from the graduates of the program (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, pp. 131-132). Alternatively it is from the adult pupil's perspectives based purely on recorded interviews (Kassam, 1982). As Kassam and Masisi (1978, pp. 131-132) stated, little attempt has been made to understand the illiterates (and the graduates) in general on their own terms. Where some efforts have been made, they have been accompanied by paternalistic tendencies. Given this restricted focus, the understanding of the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum is often obscured.

Scope of the Study

The study specifically attempted to understand the post-functional literacy curriculum from the graduates' own perspectives through participant observation, a series of in-depth interviews and cross-informant interviews with selected informants, document analysis and observation of the graduates' behaviour. In general, the study focused on both covert and overt behaviour of the graduates. Little attention was paid to the perspectives of their former teachers or other individuals. The discussion which follows deals with the organisation of the dissertation.

Organisation of the Dissertation

Chapter I established the rationale and the goals for the functional literacy program in Tanzania. It was aimed at eradicating illiteracy. Illiteracy is associated with social, political, scientific and technological backwardness, underproduction, malnutrition and endemic disease (Kidd, 1977; Bodet, 1954). Functional literacy was conceived to be the solution that could alleviate social, political, economic and cultural problems. Literacy must be functional because it is viewed as being not an end in itself. The ultimate goal of the program was to help the illiterate adults to develop as 'total citizens' who would effectively function socially, politically, culturally and economically in a Tanzanian society.

Chapter II deals with review of related literature on aspects of the impact of functional literacy programs on the lives of their graduates. Critique of the perspectives/approaches of the researchers is also dealt with here. A discussion on the theoretical approach used in the study is done in Chapter III. Chapter IV is concerned with the researcher's gaining entry, description of the context or physical setting and the daily interactions within it. Findings, mainly the perspectives of the rural graduates gained through both in-depth and cross-informants' interviews and summary are presented in Chapter V. Chapter VI, which is the last, is concerned with the researcher's interpretations or data analysis, summary, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Studies of Literacy Programs

According to Bataille (1976), the major objective of the Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) was to test and show the economic and social returns of literacy; to understand the mutual relations and influences that exist or that may be established and strengthened between literacy training among working population and development. After the five-year EWLP projects in eleven countries were completed in 1973, joint UNESCO/UNDP missions reviewed the progress and results achieved in order to make an overall global assessment of the effectiveness of the functional literacy programs. The subsections that follow are concerned with the evaluation methods used in assessing the effectiveness of the program under the EWLP.

Level of Learning Reached by New Literates

At the end of EWLP projects, participants were given tests in order to measure the knowledge and skills they had acquired from these projects (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976).

What Was Done with What Was Learned

The major goal of the EWLP was that the functional literacy was expected to change "the new literates' relationship to their socio-economic milieu and the milieu itself" (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 176). The EWLP evaluation unit, therefore, attempted to understand what the new literates did with what they had learned by detecting the changes in three major aspects: (a) insertion into the milieu; (b) mastery of the milieu; and (c) transformation of the milieu.

Insertion into the Milieu

In regard to insertion into the milieu, the indicators were devised to detect changes in areas concerning interest in further education, management of personal accounts, exposure to mass media, interest "in the seeking out of technical advice, use of the 3Rs, and participation in informal organizations" (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 176). The results indicate that 86 percent of the actual changes observed were judged satisfactory and 14 percent were judged unsatisfactory.

Literates' Mastery of the Milieu

The EWLP evaluators examined the new literates' mastery of the milieu class by using indicators which were devised to measure changes in areas such as behaviour at work, knowledge of modern technical practices, adoption of such practices and conservation and the reproduction of the labour force (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976). According to this report, 93 percent of the changes recorded concerning this class were judged satisfactory and 7 percent of the changes were assessed as unsatisfactory.

Transformation of the Milieu

The final broad class of EWLP's socio-economic effects which was examined by the program evaluators "was the participation of new literates in the transformation of the milieu" (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, p. 181). There were indicators which were devised to detect changes in areas concerning "the means of production, the volume of production, cash income, income in kind and the consumption of durable goods" (p. 182). The results indicate that 90 percent of the reported changes were judged to be satisfactory and 10 percent were deemed unsatisfactory.

However, the UNESCO/UNDP Report (1976) stated that considerable caution must be taken in interpreting the success criteria discussed because relatively few, or perhaps less than a third, of all socio-economic changes claimed in the program were actually adopted by the participants. It is argued in the report that these changes were mainly those which the participants perceived as having immediate personal benefit and required little expenditure of time and resources to achieve. In regard to high percentages of such modes of changes which were viewed as positive by the Evaluation Unit attached to UNESCO Literacy Division, the UNESCO/UNDP Report's (1976) view is that "these positive changes were very modest in nature and few in number" (p. 182). On the whole, the report concluded that the influence of functional literacy as a whole was judged to be plausible and favourable in about 42 percent of the observations.

Hypotheses

On the basis of these results, a number of hypotheses were either confirmed or rejected by the UNESCO's Literacy Division. For example, comparative studies of certain programs such as those in India and Tanzania, as Bataille (1976) puts it, made it possible to verify that:

> a) functional education leads to positive changes when it is linked to a process of real innovations concerning the participants, namely on a political, social or technical level.
> b) the effectiveness of a functional literacy programme is linked to the degree of specificity of the objectives of development and the training objectives which accompany them. (p. 142)

Furthermore, Bataille (1976) reports that the studies which were undertaken for the global evaluation have made it possible to verify the following hypotheses:

> a) the more the content of the instruction is centred on problems which the workers actually encounter in their productive activities, the more functional literacy training is effective; and
> b) the more the content and materials of instruction take into account the cultural environment of the workers and are presented in their mother tongue or a language close to their own, the more functional literacy training is effective. (p. 43)

These hypotheses just serve as examples of those which were verified at the end of the EWLP projects.

Another study is that done by Mpokera (1980). Mpokera investigated the impact of one of the CECs in Tanzania on the lives of the people as related to rural development. The results from this study indicate that the people's lives have improved economically after the establishment of the CEC. This improvement in people's lives is associated with the fact that productive activities and projects in the village were organized. Second, the provision of improved social services, training and instruction given by different specialists contributed to an increase in production quantitatively and qualitatively and many people who were served by that particular CEC have improved hygiene practices.

A study using an anthropocentric approach by Kassam (1982, p. 113) is also of interest to this study because it attempts to portray the impact of literacy "exclusively in terms of the participants' own perceptions and interpretations of the literacy process as freely discussed by themselves." Kassam (1982, p. 119) claims that the major purpose was to get "an accurate and authentic description of social reality." In order to prevent the reality from being coloured by the researchers' own expectations, assumptions and values, Kassam used non-directed questions. The participants' thoughts and feelings were recorded verbatim and in their own idiom and style of expression. The dialogues were then transcribed and translated from Kiswahili into English with minimum editing. From these dialogues, Kassam (1979, p. 59) concluded that the literates had "got rid of their former state of marginality, alienation and fear." They felt more self-confident and had begun to be self-assertive. They had acquired a new awareness of self, political consciousness and regained complete human dignity. They could not be exploited and humiliated any more; they had become self-reliant and active subjects and not manipulated objects; and they had begun to demystify social reality.

Critique of Perspectives/Approaches Used

According to the International Development Research Centre's publication titled The World of Literacy—Policy, Research and Action (1979), the EWLP and several papers from the Persopolis meeting in Iran point out that there is some weakness in "the present evaluations and research reports in interpreting learning" (p. 39). As has already been said, the participants of EWLP, for example, were given tests in order to measure knowledge and skills which they had acquired from the project. But evaluation in curriculum is more than just administering a test and assigning grades to students (Bellack & Kliebard, 1977; Taba, 1962). Even though total test scores may give confidence in a curriculum or give rise to discouragement, Taylor and Cowley (1973) argue that they tell very little about how to produce further improvements. Taylor and Cowley (1973), for instance, view modern evaluation data to include test data as only a small portion of the whole and that information from affective and psychomotor domains are regarded as equally important as is a wide variety of antecedent data. Moreover, it is argued that these paper-and-pencil tests are incapable of measuring significant learning experiences and the more complex and especially the creative forms of mental creativity such as divergent thinking (Taba, 1962; Tanner & Tanner, 1980).

As Werner (1977) points out, many ends-means which are utilized "in evaluation are borrowed from general systems theory, cybernetic engineering and industrial management" (p. 3). By using ends-means models of evaluation, the focus is on the relationship between the means and the ends and that the evaluator may analyze and judge the methods used in a program on how well they are helping the educators in achieving specified goals. But, when the interest of the evaluators remains basically with the means of solutions, Werner cautions that little attention may be paid "to the contexts of the problem, to whose interests the solutions serve, or the values and ethics upon which decisions are made" (in Aoki, 1978, p. 21).

"In testing for occupational learning," as Bhola (1979, p. 112) suggests, functional literacy workers must make a clear distinction between the acquisition of information by the participants and the application aspect of the information in their respective homes, farms and factories. Furthermore, Bhola (1979, p. 112) suggests that "in testing occupational knowledge," functional literacy workers must utilize a combination of achievement tests in order to test the learning of information. Observation must be used for the purpose of finding out whether or not the information acquired is being used in the life and the occupation of the participants.

In regard to testing for changes in attitudes, Bhola (1979, p. 115) points out that this is complex because evaluators are incapable of seeing people's attitudes directly. What the evaluators must do is either to question the people or make judgements on the basis of "an analysis of their behaviour and actions what their attitudes" might be (Bhola, 1979, p. 115). To Bhola, attitudes and values manifest themselves at different levels and to various degrees. For instance, an individual may change one's attitude, but still he may "lack the courage to act according to the newly acquired attitude" (p. 115). As such, Bhola cautions the literacy workers to understand the difference between attitude change which was simply expressed and attitude change which was actually translated into action. It is evident from the literature that paper-and-pencil tests based on the ends-means model of evaluation were incapable of measuring the changes in the EWLP participants in the areas of affective and psychomotor domains. However, the use of a combination of these tests and observation is suggested as a way of testing the learning of information and the application of the newly acquired information in daily life and work of the new literates.

As far as the socio-economic impact of EWLP is concerned, it was evaluated by using a long list of indicators. These indicators were used "for testing and measuring changes in the new literates' behaviour" (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 131). The changes were measured through the use of interview schedules and observation checklists and then the data were statistically analyzed. The International Development Research Centre's Report (1979) is very critical about the use of psychometric approaches to research and evaluation because they oversimplify reality and that they serve scant purpose when they attempt to involve people in development programs. In short, the report says:

> Most evaluation and descriptions of literacy programmes portray participants only through quantitative tables, statistics, and ratios, rarely does the information assess learners' feelings and their experiences in their daily lives when they learn to read and write. (IDRC Report, 1979, p. 10)

Although statistics in some cases are "necessary and useful, in almost all cases of investigation and analysis of a human and social phenomenon, statistical approach alone," as Kassam and Masisi (1978,

p. 133) put it, oversimplifies and distorts social reality because it ignores "the dynamics and complexities of the human context and the intersubjective world."

Kassam further (1982, p. 114) points out that the data gathered through the conventional methods of instruments "superimposes the description of empirical social reality on to a pre-determined framework of that reality." Wolf (cited in Bhola, 1979, p. 20) also views "the traditional approaches to educational evaluation" as being inadequate because "they provide only the correlates of instruction and extension" instead of "insights into the processes of change." Even definitions and methods used in a research usually restrict what an evaluator sees in a situation (Werner, 1977). For example, data collected in terms of ends-definitions may have little resemblance or relation to the social situation they are supposed to describe.

In an attempt to measure the socio-economic impact of EWLP, the emphasis was put on measuring the evaluators' predetermined and selected quantitative changes (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 135). But, according to these authors, "the invisible, the innermost, the more personal and qualitative effects of literacy on the people have been ignored" (pp. 132-133).

Further, the criterion for the selection of all indicators was based on the values and standards held by the planners and the evaluators of EWLP (Kassam & Masisi, 1978). For example, "the use of 'consumption of durable goods' as a criterion of 'transformation of the milieu'" was an odd projection on to poor societies of a consumer orientation system belonging exclusively to certain highly industrialized nations (UNESCO/UNDP Report, 1976, cited in Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 135). It is also pointed out that the indicators used in measuring changes concerning the "mastery of the milieu" focused on the basically "technical and economic aspect of mastering the milieu" (p. 136).

Furthermore, Bataille (1976, p. 55) points out that the social and economic changes which were observed and assessed occurred on the average over a period of only two years, which is "much too short a period for most of the effects expected from the operation to be felt" especially those concerned with the transformation of the milieu, such as living standards and the quality of life. In concluding its discussion on the evaluation methods utilized in the EWLP projects, the UNESCO/UNDP Report (1976) says that the type of evaluation design which was used "could only reveal the short-term and most mechanistic socio-economic effects of the world programme" (p. 183).

In regard to the study done by Kassam (1982), it appears that the use of the anthropocentric approach prevents the evaluator or the researcher from getting a broader picture of the program. The mere possession of information or an expression of positive attitude toward literacy by the adult pupils and/or graduates of a program does not necessarily mean that the pupils or graduates actually apply the knowledge and skills in their life and work. As Bhola (1979, p. 94) suggests, "the evaluator should always go into the field to observe and interact with those whose lives the program is supposedly to be changing. . . . he must observe people at work in formal and non-formal settings." It is obvious, then, that the anthropocentric approach which relies on recorded interviews may not give the real picture of the impact of the program on the lives of the graduates. A combination of anthropocentric approach, participant observation, indepth interviews and document analysis would perhaps enable the researcher to get a better understanding of the phenomenon rather than the researcher relying on the use of anthropocentric approach alone.

It appears that the traditional or conventional and anthropocentric research approaches used in the respective studies which have been discussed are incapable of providing the researcher with a better understanding of the impact of the functional literacy program on the lives of the graduates. Paper-and-pencil tests were designed to measure only the knowledge and skills that the participants had acquired from the EWLP projects; and effort to measure the socio-economic impact of the EWLP put emphasis on measuring the evaluators' predetermined and selected quantitative changes. But, the qualitative effects of the program on the lives of the participants were ignored. The anthropocentric approach relied on the recorded interviews of the participants of a program and the application aspect of the information in life and work of the pupils was ignored. There is a need for researchers to use a combination of perspectives or research approaches and involve the new literates in assessing and interpreting both quantitative and qualitative changes brought about by the program so that a broader understanding of the effects of the program can be reached.

Chapter III

THE THEORETICAL APPROACH

A Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides an account of the theoretical approach used in this study. Arguments are made to support it stance within situational sense-making of a program based on an ethnographic approach. Sampling methods, data collection strategies which included the use of observation, interviews and document analysis are presented. The guiding questions, data analysis and trustworthiness of the study are addressed.

This study utilized Werner's (1977a, p. 17) conceptual framework of a situational perspective of sense-making of a program. The framework based on an ethnographic approach was used in an attempt to understand the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum in relation to the graduates' development as "the total citizens."

The situational interpretation of a program perspective was chosen as a conceptual framework because it seems to form a direct link between the topic of this study and the ethnographic research methods. For example, it takes into account the importance of the context including the participants' perceptions and the situational factors which give "a program its particular meaning and relevance" as well as the social relation between the researcher or evaluator and the participants of a program (Werner, 1977a, pp. 1-10).

While the situational perspective of sense-making of a program based on an ethnographic approach was central to this study, other perspectives were also used in order to enable the researcher to get a better understanding of the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum (see Figure 1, Major Perspectives). For example, people's daily activities and thinking, as Werner (1977a, p. 11) puts it, are based upon "fundamental views, interest, ideologies and value stances." The use of a critical interpretation perspective allowed the researcher to account for the post-functional literacy in terms of these fundamental and hidden perspectives which guided the graduates' thinking and acting (Werner, 1977a).

Further, through the use of the critical perspective, the researcher asked questions which probed, uncovered and made explicit the foundations of the post-functional literacy curriculum (Werner, 1977a, p. 11). Critical evaluation as Werner (1977a, p. 11) points out is "neither common-sense description of programs as situational interpretation often tends to be, nor second-order descriptions" such as theoretical interpretations of experience which are "provided by ends-means interpretations." Werner warns that a critical evaluator does not accept such accounts as adequate data for making sense of programs. The evaluator probes to the underlying foundations that may be implicit and hidden. Werner further points out that the critical evaluator must get at the basis of both the first- and the second-order descriptions and raise questions regarding that which is taken for granted in both ends-means and situational interpretation.

Ends-means sense making of a program perspective was also used

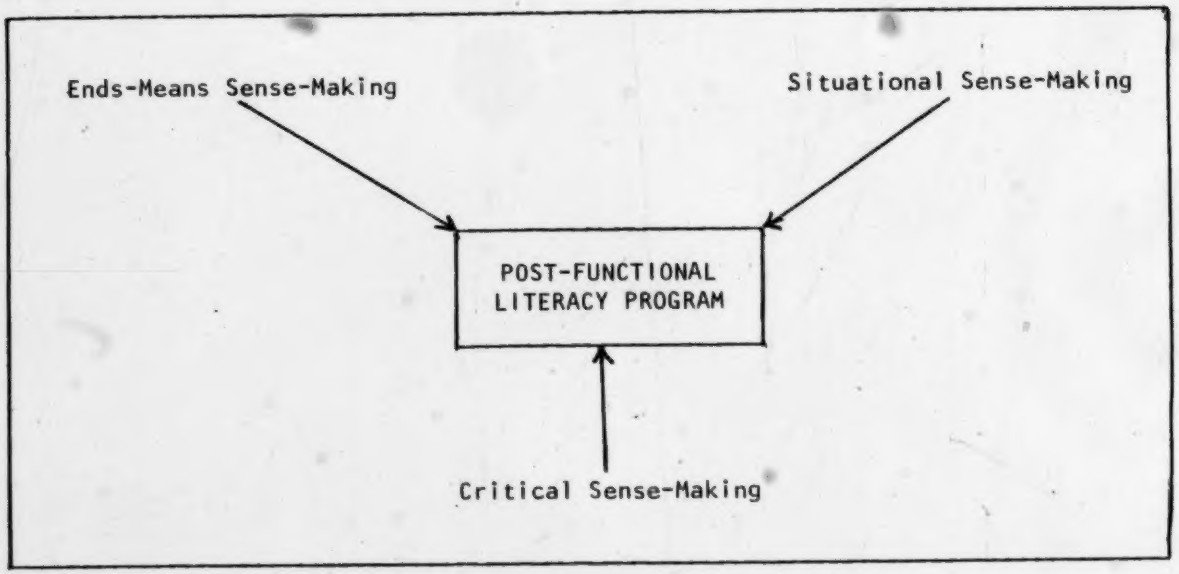
Ends-Means Sense-Making
Situational Sense-Making
POST-FUNCTIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM
Critical Sense-Making

Figure 1. Major Perspectives for Interpreting Post-Functional Literacy Program. (Source: Adapted from Werner, 1977a, p. 1)

by the researcher through asking questions which probed the relationship between the means, such as teaching/learning strategies, student activities, materials, resources used and ends such as intended outcomes (Werner, 1977a, p. 3). A short written test was also administered by the researcher for the purpose of testing skills in writing and computation.

On the whole, the use of the situational perspective as a conceptual framework based on an ethnographic approach as well as the use of both critical sense-making and ends-means sense-making perspectives allowed the researcher to gain a broader understanding of the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy program at Mlowa Barabarani.

It is worthwhile noting that situational perspective has been utilized as a conceptual framework in several curriculum evaluation projects, such as the Alberta Social Studies Program (1975), the Alberta Canadian Studies Program (1977), and the British Columbia Social Studies Program (1977). Although an ends-means perspective was central to all three projects, as Werner (1977) records, attempts were made to integrate situational and critical perspectives (p. 6). The following sub-section provides a brief definition of a situational interpretation of a school program.

The Definition of a Situational Interpretation of a School Program

According to Werner (1977a, p. 1), some authors hold perspectives that "conceive evaluation as judging the entire context of a program." The term "context" as used by these authors includes the perceptions of the participants and the situational factors which give "a program its particular meaning and relevance" (p. 1). To Aoki et al. (1977, p. 2), a situation comprises "a physical setting and the daily interactions of people within it." Aoki et al. (1977, p. 3) claim that some form of meaning is derived by the individuals from their relationships to other human beings. These authors further claim that "this social context is instrumental in defining" an individual's involvement in a situation (p. 3). "In terms of situational study," as the authors put it, "the situation is the classroom located within the context of school and community" (p. 3). In the case of this study, the situation refers to the graduates' home environment and/or place of work located in the context of CEC, the community and the daily interactions of the people within the physical setting of Mlowa Barabarani.

As has already been said, the researcher used ethnographic research which is defined as "a descriptive fieldwork activity of cultural anthropologists and many qualitative sociologists" (Cook & Reichardt, 1979, p. 119). Such a research approach is based on the assumption that human behavior is complexly influenced by the context in which it occurs and that any research which takes the actors out of the naturalistic setting would negate those forces and hence obscure its own understanding (Wilson, 1977, p. 253). In order to give a more accurate representation, contextualization requires that data are placed in their own environment (Fetterman, 1982).

Apart from human behaviour being influenced by the context in which it occurs, people seem to be constantly giving meanings to things (Werner, 1977a). According to Blumer (1969, p. 2), human beings normally act toward things such as physical objects, friends, enemies and institutions "on the basis of meanings that the things have for them." Blumer further claims that the meaning of such things is derived from the social interaction that an individual has with other fellows. Furthermore, this author points out that these meanings are handled and altered through an interpretative process used by the individual in dealing with the things which are encountered. However, Werner (1977a, p. 8) cautions that when meaning is disturbed, people understand that they do not experience the world randomly, but as a meaningful whole. Daily experiences, as Werner (1977a, p. 8) puts it, "fit together within a meaning situation or context." Further, Werner (1977a, p. 9) claims that the common-sense and the theoretical realities in which people live and act are possible because an individual "constructs and interprets meaning through language, body movements, symbols, artifacts and activities." In order to study and understand social situations, Werner suggests that the researcher "must be concerned with understanding of meaning" and that this kind of evaluation can be viewed as the situational interpretation of school programs.

Related to situational interpretation of a school program are assumptions concerning social relations which underly situational evaluation. These assumptions are discussed under the following sub-section.

Implied Social Relations

In situational evaluation, the participant including the evaluator bring their expertise and knowledge to the evaluation (Werner, 1977a). Each offers his own perceptions and experiences of a program and as such the evaluator becomes a participant who tries "to draw out through dialogue the interpretations, criticisms, and the standards of worth brought to a program by different participating groups" (Werner, 1977a, p. 10). Further, Agar (1977) in a discussion on the ethnographic approach points out that the stance taken by ethnographers is that they want to understand the world and the meaning of the informants' experience from the informants' point of view and in the way the informants know it.

In summing up this discussion on the conceptual framework, it has been argued that multiple perspectives of sense-making of a program were used in this study because they allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum. The situational interpretation of sense-making of a program perspective was central to this study because it directly linked the research topic of the study to ethnographic research methods in terms of the context of meaning which cradles people's daily activities and social relations (Werner, 1977a, p. 8). By using the multiple perspectives and interpreting the meaning which the post-functional literacy had for the graduates from their view point, and by having the researcher stepping "in and out of society," the researcher tried to understand the phenomena from both the "inside and the outside perspective" (Powdermaker, cited in Wax, 1971, p. 3; Wilson, 1977, p. 253).

Sampling Methods

The rural graduates who were involved in this study were those adults who had not received any formal education through schooling but who had become literate by attending functional and post-functional literacy classes. However, in the course of the investigation, it was revealed that a few of the graduates involved in the study have had some elementary education, but they had not gone beyond grade 4 of elementary school. For the purpose of this research, such graduates were considered as being illiterate particularly at the time of their enrollment in the functional literacy program.

It was expected that the graduates to be involved in the study must have successfully completed a post-functional literacy program and had been awarded an official certificate. They must have been working on their respective farms in a rural area in Dodoma Region for at least three years since completing their program. It was also assumed that graduates with at least three years working experience on their farms after graduation could be in a position to react critically to questions concerning the impact of the post-functional literacy program on their lives. Since all pupils enrolled in the post-functional literacy program in Tanzania sat for the National Adult Education Literacy Examination for the first time in 1983, there were no graduates with three years working experience (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984). Most post-functional literacy graduates who participated in the study were those who sat for the post-functional literacy examination conducted in 1983 as part of the Fourth National Adult Education Literacy Examination.

All the names of the post-functional literacy graduates selected for both in-depth study and "cross-informant interviewing" were obtained from Mlowa Barabarani CEC. Then their addresses were made available to the researcher by Mlowa Barabarani 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' (CCM) branch office (a branch office of the political party, CCM). After the names and the addresses of the graduates had been listed, the graduates were traced and informal interviews started.

The anticipated number of graduates for the in-depth study had been between three and five because it was considered manageable for this type of study. During the informal interviews, five post-functional literacy graduates expressed their willingness to participate in an in-depth study. As time went by, two graduates withdrew their participation informally because of other commitments. One of those who withdrew from the study was in the militia and served as a night watchman for the Mlowa Barabarani village. During the day time he worked on the farm because the monthly allowance he received as a night watchman was inadequate to live on. The other one (his father) was also engaged by the village government on a monthly allowance basis as a night watchman. He had to work on the farm during the day time. The third graduate was dropped by the researcher after it had been confirmed by the graduate that he had tuberculosis. He frequently went to a hospital eleven kilometers away from the village for further medical examination and treatment. In addition to this, he used to attend several religious catechist seminars and fellowship meetings. As a result it was very difficult for him to keep his appointments for interviews. There were only two graduates who participated in the in-depth study from the beginning to its end.

Originally, 15 names of rural graduates of the post-functional literacy program were selected for the cross-informant interviewing. During the cross-informant interviewing, however, one husband did not allow his wife to participate in the study. He argued that he could not allow her to do so because he did not understand the criteria used by those concerned with the selection of graduates for the interviews. He could not be persuaded. Another female graduate could not keep her appointments for the interviews despite the fact that her husband had permitted her to participate in the study. At the time of field work, she was pregnant. Later on she broke her leg and had to be hospitalized at a hospital eleven kilometers away. Then she gave birth to a child. This prolonged her hospitalization. At the end of the field work, she had not been discharged from the hospital. The third graduate, who was also a female, was unknown at the address given to the researcher. Further search concerning her whereabouts indicated that "sometimes, when some adults in the village do not like attending adult classes, they simply give false names and/or addresses at the time of enrollment" (Itambu, interview, April 30, 1984). However, 12 graduates of the program were used for "cross-informant interviewing" for the purpose of confirmation and validation of interviews or findings derived from the in-depth study done through participant observation.

Data Gathering

According to Agar (1977), ethnography involves long term association with some group in their own territory in order to learn from them the way they do things and view reality. An ethnographer, to Agar, associates with people in a variety of contexts such as home, place of work, religious ceremonies and recreational activities over an extensive period of time. A researcher as a participant observer attempted to understand events in terms of meanings which were held by the people in the social setting.

As Agar (1977) suggests, the researcher played a role of a participant observer. While in the field, he used several data collection strategies; namely, observation, interviewing and document analysis (Rist, 1982). The first two strategies interact with each other simultaneously or sequentially in the process of doing field research (Agar, 1977). Agar argues that by watching people doing things, one learns something that cannot be gotten by just talking to them, but one cannot learn much unless you talk with them, during and after the event. Furthermore, as Agar (1977, p. 107) puts it, anthropologists like discussing "about the relationship between what people say and what they do, or the relative importance of talking to informants as opposed to watching them." Each of these data collection strategies is discussed under the following sub-sections.

Use of Observation in the Study

In science, as Kaplan (cited in Duignan, 1981, p. 286) defines it, observation is "a search for what is hidden . . . because its exposure will facilitate an intimate, sustained, and productive relationship with the world."

Since "observation is a search for what is hidden" (p. 286), it is considered insufficient to record an event simply for its own sake (Duignan, 1981). The purpose of observation is to attempt "to interpret the meaning of the event for those involved" so that "both apparent and unapparent import of actions and events" can be discovered (p. 286). Through observation, the researcher tried to understand the meaning which the actors or graduates of the program gave to their behaviours and actions (Duignan, 1981, p. 286). The researcher's purpose was to learn from the graduates through observation rather than studying them (Spradley, 1972). During observation the researcher focused on the meaning the graduates had for their behaviour which "is purposeful and not an end in itself" (Duignan, 1981, p. 281). Since human behaviour has more meaning than its observable facts, the researcher sought the meaning for the behaviour from the graduates concerned (Wilson, 1977, p. 253). For example, the researcher asked the graduates to react to a question on what they thought they were doing during and/or after an observation (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972).

In order to observe and understand the meanings which the informants or the rural graduates gave to their behaviours and actions, the stance taken by this researcher was that his role had to move along a continuum. On one end, the researcher had to act as a participant, "totally as an active member, and on the other end, as a detached observer" (Rist, 1982, p. 443). The researcher varied his participant observation strategies according to the setting and activity (Rist, 1982, p. 443).

On the whole, observation provided the researcher with information concerning the effects of attitudes on behaviour, about the actual application of agricultural techniques which were taught, for example, to rural graduates as well as about the graduates' attitudes after they had learned specific economic or social skills (Bhola, 1979, p. 85).

The Role of Interviews

The structured interview is essentially "a face-to-face version of the questionnaire" (Bhola, 1979, p. 71). The one thing the interview is capable of doing that a questionnaire is incapable of "is to ask the question, 'Why?'" It is argued that the interview enables the researcher to explore certain topics in depth and uncover the reasons and motivations which make the informants act in a certain way (p. 71). It also provides the researcher with an opportunity to probe in depth and make explicit areas which are ambiguous.

Rist (1982, p. 443) views the ability of conducting a good interview just like holding an interesting conversation in which there is participation by all involved. The conversational aspect of interviewing used in qualitative research, as Rist puts it, involves considerable human interactions which are likely to occur over time. In some cases, exchanges are initiated by key informants and friends and that in each instance there is the opportunity for the researcher "to learn more about how the actors in the setting perceive their environment, understand their actions, and anticipate the views and behaviours of others" (Rist, 1982, p. 444).

For the purpose of initiating, developing and maintaining productive informant relationships, as Spradley (1979, p. 45) suggests, three weeks were spent on locating the graduates and conducting informal interviews. During the informal interviews, the researcher would suggest a broad area, as Agar (1980, p. 104) puts it, and sit back while the informant talked for a half an hour or so. This approach enabled the researcher to obtain informants' accounts of events. From this kind of experience, the researcher acquired skills in eliciting information and analyzing data before informants for an in-depth study were selected.

One formal interview of two hours was conducted with the first graduate or informant during the in-depth study. Two formal interviews were held with the second informant, six with the third and seven with each of the two informants who fully participated in the in-depth study. One formal interview of two hours was conducted with each of the 12 graduates selected for the cross-informant interviewing. These interviews, which were conducted in the Kiswahili language, were held between December of 1983 and May of 1984. Interviews took place in the graduates' home environments or in the researcher's office during leisure time. Sometimes the interviews took place on the graduates' farms during and/or after farming activities. Interviews were also conducted during and/or after recreational activities. After getting the informants' consent, all formal interviews were tape recorded.

Document Analysis

Written materials can provide significant "insights into both public . . . and private perceptions, rules, guidelines, and images, and rewards or sanctions" (Rist, 1982, p. 444). In this study, the researcher analyzed personal documents of the graduates, such as graduates' reading materials, letters as well as the documents generated by the program, such as periodical reports written by field workers and administrators, and teachers' logbook (Bhola, 1979, p. 84). The researcher then synthesized the analyses of these documents, searched for patterns and causal links. Convincing explanations were retained but the unconvincing ones were rejected (Bhola, 1979, p. 84).

Through the use of these data collection strategies, the researcher was able to focus and collect both verbal and non-verbal data (Pelto, 1970).

Some Guiding Questions

Data gathering was guided by semi-structured interviews but with open-ended research questions based on the major purposes of the study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Each of the open-ended questions was directed to each of the rural graduates of the post-functional literacy program involved in the study (see Appendix B).

Data Analysis

Analysis refers to the systematic scrutiny of something in order to discover its parts, the relationship among these parts as well as "their relationship to the whole" (Spradley, 1976, p. 92). The analysis of qualitative data is conceived to be a dialectical process.

It is done concurrently with data collection during the entire period that the researcher is in the field (Agar, 1980; Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Rist, 1982). In ethnography, for example, ethnographers collect some data and later on they attempt to make sense out of it, or do some analysis. The ethnographers then go back to see if the interpretation makes sense in the light of new experiences. But the ethnographers may still go back and collect more data, finally refine interpretations or do some more analysis.

In this study, "Thematic Analysis" was utilized as an analytic framework because of the nature of the topic of the study (Rist, 1982). A theme is defined as "a postulate or position, declared by implied, and usually controlling behaviour or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Upler, cited in Spradley, 1976, p. 185). Cultural themes, for instance, often "appear as folk sayings, mottos, proverbs, or recurrent expressions" (p. 187). Themes do not simply recur throughout in various parts of a culture, but they also link various subsystems of a culture (p. 189). The themes usually serve as semantic relationships among domains. Thematic analysis, therefore, refers to the grouping and presentation of the results by key themes that are found in the research (Firestone, 1980; Metz, 1978; Smith & Geoffrey, 1969: cited in Rist, 1982). According to Spradley (1976, p. 94), theme analysis entails a research for the connections or relationships among domains and how they are joined "to the culture as a whole." Through the use of Thematic Analysis the general pattern of a culture could better be understood by identifying the recurrent themes obtained from the graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum (Upler, cited in Spradley, 1976, p. 185).

Trustworthiness of the Study

Qualitative investigation is criticized because it does not "adhere to canons of reliability and validity" (Magoon, 1977; Reichardt & Cook, 1979: cited in LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 31). The qualitative researcher who does not use conventional "quantitative methods of standardizing subjects' expressions or researchers' observations" is also criticized by those who are not acquainted with participant observation because they "fear that the data will be polluted with the observers' subjective bias" (Wilson, 1977, p. 258). Moreover, "critics of field studies have argued that the results of field studies are not generalizable and are, at best, rich idiosyncratic descriptions of teachers' actions" (Stephens, 1982, p. 75).

✓ However, in his discussion on the criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries, Guba (1981) suggests that changes be made in terminology. For example, internal validity and objectivity be described as credibility; reliability as dependability; external validity and generalizability as transferability. Each of the criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries is discussed under the following sub-sections, chiefly, credibility, dependability and transferability.

Credibility

Several questions may be raised regarding credibility. For example, how can the ethnographer establish confidence that the rural graduates' views have emerged? How can the ethnographer be sure that these perspectives are not purely personal? "Although the problems of reliability threaten the credibility of much ethnographic work," as LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 43) put it, "validity may be its major strength." It is argued that this becomes evident particularly when ethnography is compared to other studies done by using survey and experimentation approaches as well as quantitative research designs for the purpose of assessment of internal validity (Crain, 1977; Erickson, 1977; Reichardt & Cook, 1979: cited in LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 43). The term "internal validity" as used here, "refers to the extent to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32). These authors argue that the claim of ethnography to have high internal validity is based on the data collection techniques such as participant observation, interviews and data analysis techniques used by ethnographers.

In regard to criticisms concerning objectivity, Wilson (1982, p. 258) claims that well executed ethnographic research utilizes a technique of disciplined subjectivity which "is as thorough and intrinsically objective as are other kinds of research." Wilson argues that this assertion is based on what he terms as the qualitative phenomenological hypothesis about human behaviour. Briefly, Wilson (1982) says:

> Those who work within this [qualitative phenomenological hypothesis] tradition assert that the social scientist cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions. They point out that the natural science approach to objectivity requires the researcher to impose a priori

> limitations on the data, an act which makes it difficult to discover the perspectives of the subjects. (See Bantock, 1965; Broadbeck, 1968; Kocklemass, 1967: cited in Wilson, 1982, p. 249)

Wilson argues that the discipline of research traditions requires the researcher to monitor and test reactions. Wilson further argues that the researcher systematically takes the perspectives of the informants "who rarely share a monolithic point of view and also views the actions from the perspective of the outsider" (p. 259). By systematically attempting to understand actions from various perspectives of different groups of participants, as Vidich (1955) and Wilson (1972) put it, "the researcher avoids getting caught in any one outlook" (Vidich, 1955; Wilson, 1972: cited in Wilson, 1982, p. 259). According to Wilson (1982), the ethnographer can examine behaviour simultaneously with different perspectives and the tensions in viewpoint "between outsider and insider and between groups of insiders keep the careful researcher from lapsing into subjectivity" (p. 259). On the basis of these arguments for qualitative studies, it is argued that credibility of this study was attained through constant testing of the data by checking with the graduates for confirmation as well as the researcher's analysis of data from an objective outside perspective throughout the fieldwork. After the researcher had analyzed and counter-checked the information with other informants, for example, he checked the information with the first informant for confirmation purposes. If the informant held a different point of view from the other informants on a certain issue, the researcher respected the informant's viewpoint.

Dependability

Would it be possible to repeat the findings of this study if the situation and the informants were the same? As has already been said elsewhere, Guba suggests that the terminology used as criteria for assessing trustworthiness of qualitative studies be changed. For example, Guba terms reliability as dependability. According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 32), reliability refers to the degree to which studies can be replicated. It requires that a researcher utilizing the same research methods can get "the same results as those of a prior study" (p. 35). Ethnographic research is undertaken in natural settings to record processes of change. As such, LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 35) argue that unique contexts cannot be reconstructed exactly and that "even the most exact replication of research methods may fail to produce identical results." Guba (1981) also points out that no two situations are the same. LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 35) note that "problems of uniqueness and idiosyncrasy can lead to the claim that no ethnographic study can be replicated." But, "generation, refinement, and validation of constructs and postulates may not require replication of situations" (p. 35). Furthermore, since "human behaviour is never static, no study can be replicated exactly, regardless of the methods and designs employed" (p. 35). The ethnographic process as LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 36) put it is personalistic and no ethnographer functions just like another. Guba (1981) also holds similar views and says that no two ethnographers are the same and the perspectives of the informants are changed anew by the research. A failure in the researcher in specifying exactly what was done may also create serious problems of reliability (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982).

On the whole, LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 37) conceive that "neither external nor internal reliability, as threats to the credibility of inquiry, are problems unique to ethnographers." "Because of factors such as the uniqueness or complexity of phenomena and the individualistic nature of the ethnographic process, ethnographic research may approach rather than attain external reliability" (Hansen, 1979; Pelto & Pelto, 1978: cited in LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 37). On the basis of these problems concerning dependability, Guba (1981) suggests that only a clear "audit trail" can be left by the original ethnographer. In the case of this study, "audit trail" or items such as audio-tapes, transcripts of conversations and photographs were kept by the researcher.

Transferability

Can the findings of this study be applied in other contexts or with other graduates of the functional literacy curriculum? Guba (1981) terms both external validity and generalizability as transferability. External validity refers to the degree to which scientific observations and measurements as authentic representations of some reality "may be compared legitimately across groups" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32). According to the conventional view, Julian Simon (cited in Stephens, 1982, p. 76) writes:

> A good principle is that you should generalize from your data if you can reasonably regard them as a fair sample of the universe to which you want to generalize. . . . If the sample was randomly drawn from a universe, then you can infer that what is true of the sample is true of the universe. But when

> the sample is not randomly drawn from the universe, the generalization is certainly not automatic.

But Stephens (1982, p. 87) argues that, provided a consistent and rationally defensible framework has been utilized, researchers "should not be intimidated by critics of fieldwork studies who define generalizability in terms of sampling theory." Using Cusick's study, "Inside High School" (1973) as an example, Stephens (1982, pp. 83-84) argues that

> The findings of field studies are generalizable in the "vertical" sense, if the particular events and actions being studied can be interpreted, in terms of a rationally defensible and consistent [theoretical framework] as instances of more general categories of social discourse (cf. Tabachnick, 1981).

The theoretical framework out of which an investigator works will provide "orientating categories in terms of which generalizations will be formed" (p. 84). Since the findings of field studies are capable of providing "reasons for action there is evidence of their generalizability" (p. 87). Furthermore, Stephens (1982, p. 87) says:

> . . . these generalizations take the form of interpretations of the specific events and actions being studied and are intended to link these events and actions to more general descriptions of social behaviour. If these interpretative generalizations are to be useful, a reader needs to be convinced that similar interpretations are likely to apply to instances which can be identified as similar to the cases studied.

Stake (1978, p. 7), in his discussion on "The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry," seems to support Stephens' views and writes:

> Case studies are likely to continue . . . because of the universality and importance of experiential understanding, and because of their compatibility with such understanding, case studies can be expected to continue to have an epistemological advantage over other inquiry methods as a basis for naturalistic generalization. Unlike Bacon's "true way" of discovering truth, this method has been tried and found to be a direct and satisfying way of adding to experience and improving understanding.

On the basis of these discussions, the stance taken by this researcher is that similar interpretations were likely to apply to cases that could be identified as being similar to the case studied.

Chapter IV

THE RESEARCH SETTING

Introduction

This chapter describes the researcher's entry to Mlowa Barabarani village. It is important to understand the context because it comprises a physical setting as well as the daily interactions of the individuals. In this study, the context includes location, physical and climate, population, socio-economic and cultural aspects of the village as well as the CEC's activities. Then the chapter is concluded by a general summary of the research setting.

Gaining Entry

The researcher's idea of doing research on a topic that would be relevant and related to Tanzanian context and needs began to develop early in 1982. At that time, the researcher was taking a course dealing with "Functions of Education in the Development of Emerging Nations" which was being offered by the Department of Educational Foundations. After the researcher had chosen his research topic, Dr. D. L. Massey, the researcher's supervisor, Dr. Bacchus, Director/Co-ordinator for the Centre for International Education and Development, University of Alberta, and the researcher held a discussion on how to gain entry to Tanzania for the purpose of carrying out research. Other individuals who participated in this discussion were two professors, Dr. Omari, then Head, Department of Education and Dr. Komba from the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. These professors were on an official visit to the University of Alberta. From this discussion, the researcher was advised to send an application for a research associateship to the University of Dar-es-Salaam which could issue him with a research clearance.

In March, 1983 Dr. Bacchus, Director/Co-ordinator for the Centre for International Education and Development at this University, sent the application for the research associateship status on behalf of the researcher to the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Enclosed therein with the application was a copy of a research proposal prepared by the researcher. This was followed by a telegram as a reminder sent to the University of Dar-es-Salaam by Dr. Bacchus in August, 1983. Unfortunately, there was no reply from Dar-es-Salaam.

On October 30, 1983, the researcher left Edmonton for Dar-es-Salaam. On arrival, he was advised by the University of Dar-es-Salaam authority to obtain a letter for research clearance from his employer, the Ministry of National Education. The researcher obtained a research clearance from the Ministry of National Education on November 5, 1983 (Appendix C).

On November 13, 1983 the researcher left for Dodoma. On arrival, his research clearance issued by the Ministry of National Education was unacceptable to the Dodoma Regional Authority. The authority claimed that it had been used to accepting research clearance issued by the University of Dar-es-Salaam only. Attempts to communicate with the University of Dar-es-Salaam by phone were made by the authority in order to clarify the issue. Later on the researcher realized that the issue was not going to be resolved on the telephone. On November 24, 1983, the authority wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, University of Dar-es-Salaam (Appendix D) which was delivered by the researcher. After the researcher had discussed the matter with those concerned with the issuing of research clearances at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, he was advised to fill an application form for research associateship. The fee for the research associateship at the University of Dar-es-Salaam was Tanzanian shs. 4,000/=.[1] An observation was also made that an application for research associateship normally took about six months to process before approval. As far as the University was concerned, it only issued research clearance to its professors and students engaged in research. Those who were neither professors nor students at that University had to apply for research associateship. Alternatively, the researcher was advised to put up an application for research clearance with the Tanzania National Scientific Research Council.

The researcher took this advice and obtained an introductory letter dated November 30, 1983 (Appendix E) from the Ministry of National Education and delivered it to the Director General of the Tanzania National Scientific Research Council. At the Council, the researcher filled in an application form for research clearance and submitted a copy of his research proposal. After the application had been processed by the Council, the researcher paid a fee of Tanzanian shs. 1,500/= and was issued with a research clearance on December 2, 1983 (Appendix F). However, when the researcher read the last paragraph of the research clearance which says: "I hope you will enjoy your stay in Tanzania . . .", he felt he was a stranger in his own country.

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[1] Canadian $1.00 = Tanzanian shs. 12.12 (Tz. shs. 100.0 = Canadian $8.25).

Then on December 7, 1983, the researcher left for Dodoma. In Dodoma, he was issued with an introductory letter on December 8, 1983 (Appendix G) by the Dodoma Regional Development Director. The letter was addressed to the Regional Education Officer, Dodoma and Dodoma District Executive Director (Rural). Dodoma Rural District has three CECs. These centres are in Mlowa Barabarani, Huzi and Idifu Ujamaa villages. The researcher selected Mlowa Barabarani village as a research area because it is along the Dodoma-Iringa main road.

After the village for research had been selected by the researcher, the Dodoma District Executive Director (Rural) issued him with an introductory letter dated December 12, 1983 (Appendix H). The letter was addressed to the Chairman, Mlowa Barabarani village. After the letter had been issued, the Dodoma District Executive Director, the Dodoma District Education Officer (Rural) and the researcher paid a visit to Mlowa Barabarani on the same day. The purpose of the visit was, among other official duties, to deliver the letter and introduce the researcher to the Chairman of the village government and 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' (CCM) (political party) branch. The visit was also intended to find out from the CEC's staff the possibility of getting accommodation for the researcher at the village. Introducing the researcher to the Chairman and to some CEC staff, the

Dodoma District Executive Director (Rural) said that the researcher was a Tanzanian student studying in Canada. He had gone to Mlowa Barabarani to carry out research on adult education programs as part of his Ph.D. program. This introduction was somehow more detailed than the researcher had expected. After an assurance had been given by the people concerned that accommodation would be made available to the researcher, the two officers and the researcher returned to Dodoma Municipality in the evening. Thanks to the researcher's Examining Committee that advised the researcher on October 27, 1983 to extend the research period from four to six months in order to accomplish the study. The researcher's letter of thanks to the Director General is in Appendix I.

Location, Physical and Climate

On December 15, 1983, the researcher left Dodoma Municipality and went to Mlowa Barabarani by lorry. Mlowa Barabarani, which was established in 1972 and registered as an Ujamaa (Socialist) village in 1974 is about 43 kilometres south of Dodoma Municipality (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984; Mpokera, 1980). The Dodoma Municipality is the new capital of Tanzania. A map of Tanzania showing the area of the research appears on the following page (Figure II). Dodoma Region in which Mlowa Barabarani is located is situated between 3,300 to 5,000 feet above sea level (Ministry of Information as cited in Kinshaga, 1977). The land comprises "partly wooded plains studded with granite boulders" (p. 57). The area is arid with an average rainfall of 25 inches.

On December 15, 1984, the entire village of Mlowa Barabarani

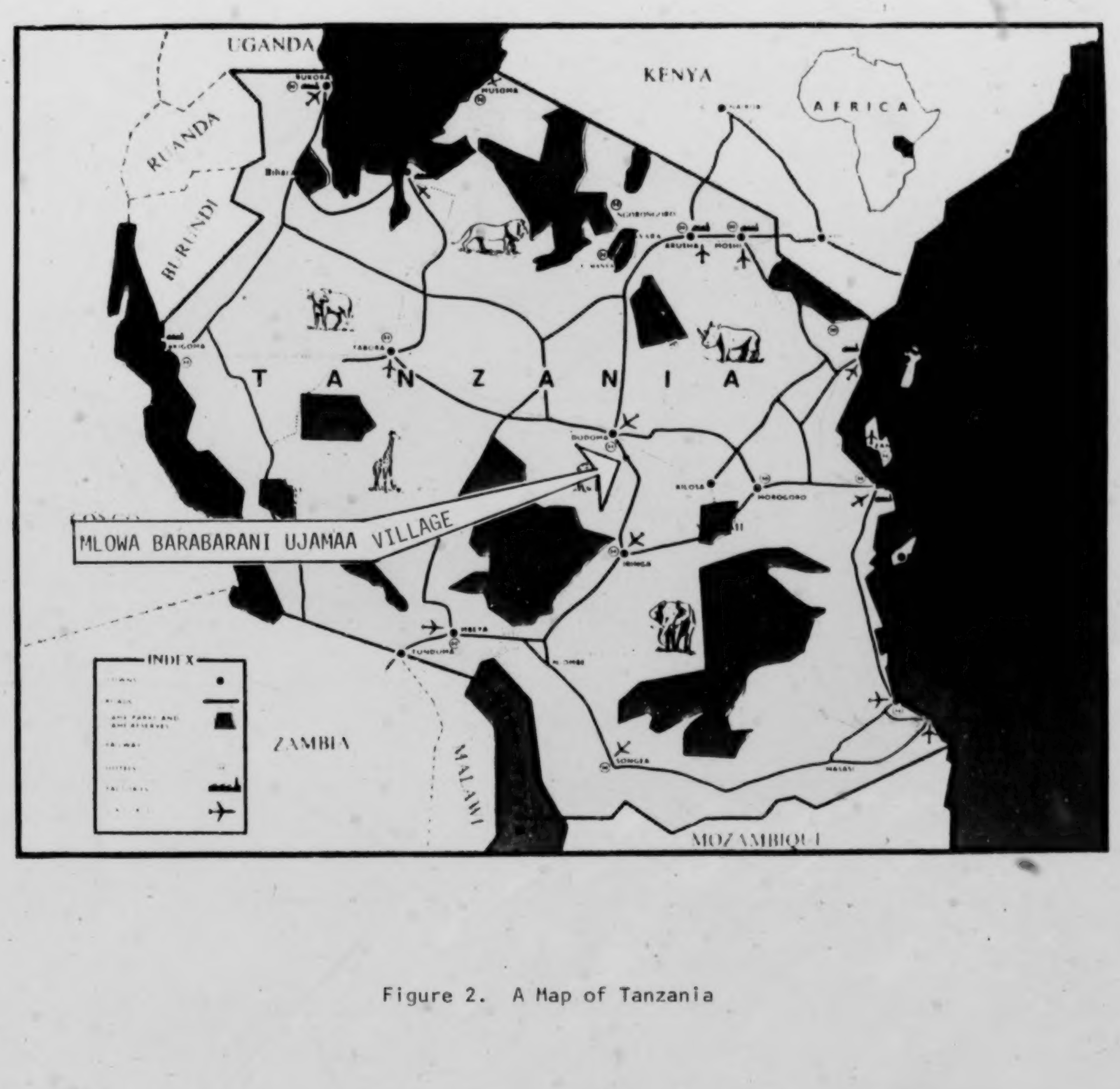
UGANDA
KENYA
AFRICA
RUANDA
BURUNDI
T A N Z A N I A
MLOWA BARABARANI UJAMAA VILLAGE
INDEX
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
MOZAMBIQUE

Figure 2. A Map of Tanzania

COLOURED PICTURES
Images en couleur

was still dry and almost bare because the rainy season had not started. What one could see at that time of the year were the villagers' homes with scattered trees and the CEC's buildings.

The section which follows deals with the establishment of productive relationships between the informants and the researcher.

Establishing Relationships

The problem that faced the researcher after he had obtained the list of names and addresses of the graduates was 'when,' 'where' and 'how' should he start tracing the post-functional literacy graduates. Originally, the researcher had planned to get names and addresses of the graduates from the CEC, and then begin tracing them on his own. But when time came to do it, the researcher realized that, to use Agar's (1980) term, he was a 'professional stranger' in Mlowa Barabarani.

The researcher began searching for someone who would be willing to accompany him in tracing the graduates. The researcher needed someone who was not just well known by the villagers but also acceptable to them. That person had to be somebody who was not vested with authority in the village. Anyone holding one of the top leadership positions in the village was considered by the researcher as being unsuitable for the task. The researcher's view was that if he picked a leader who was popular in the community, there would probably be no problem in establishing productive relationships between the informants and the researcher.

Through informal interactions which the researcher had with some of the CEC's staff at Mlowa Barabarani, he was able to pick Ndugu Mbijili. Ndugu Mbijili was an Assistant Headteacher (or Assistant Principal) at Mlowa Barabarani Primary School at the CEC. Ndugu Mbijili, who seemed to be in his mid-thirties, was married and had a family. He had some teaching experience and had worked as a Headteacher of a primary school before he was transferred to Mlowa Barabarani. He was picked by the researcher because he had the qualities the researcher was looking for. Second, he had shown keen interest in the study. Since the school was on holidays, he visited the researcher during the day time. Sometimes he spent part of his evenings at the researcher's lodging which was located within the CEC's buildings. From the conversations Ndugu Mbijili revealed that he was born and brought up in Mpwapwa District within Dodoma Region. The relationship between Ndugu Mbijili and the researcher was strengthened when the researcher revealed that he received his secondary and teacher education in Mpwapwa District. Second, the researcher taught at one of the schools in Mpwapwa District for a number of years. Most of the conversations between the researcher and Ndugu Mbijili were centred either on topics concerning Mpwapwa's socio-economic development or on issues concerning functional literacy programs at Mlowa Barabarani in general.

After the researcher had established a good relationship with Ndugu Mbijili, he asked him if he could accompany him (the researcher) in tracing the post-functional literacy graduates in the village. The latter readily accepted the request. Ndugu Mbijili and the researcher visited some of the graduates' homes between 3:00 and 6:00 p.m. daily for several days. After a day's economic activities, most graduates were in their respective homes during these hours. From December 19, 1983 to December 21, 1983, Ndugu Mbijili and the researcher traced and held informal discussions with fourteen rural graduates of the post-functional literacy program. The visits were specifically intended to establish relationships between the researcher and the post-functional literacy graduates. Thus, the main purpose of the discussions was to explain the objective of the research to the graduates and to ask them to participate in the study. The graduates were given opportunities to ask the researcher and Ndugu Mbijili questions concerning the research project. One of the questions which was frequently asked by several graduates was "why" and "how" their names were selected for this study. The graduates also made some comments concerning their gratitude for having Ndugu Mbijili accompanying their guest. One of the comments made by several graduates was, ". . . Ndugu Mbijili, we are glad that you have come here to introduce our guest [the researcher] to us; but had he come here alone, we would have run into our houses, locked our doors from inside and remained quiet. He would have probably knocked at our doors, but still we would not open the doors for him." The researcher got this message precisely sometimes communicated to him in 'Cigogo' dialect and sometimes in Kiswahili language. This comment confirmed the reason why the researcher needed someone to accompany him in tracing the graduates. Since Christmas was very close, on December 22, 1983, the researcher took a week off and spent his Christmas vacation in his home district, Kiomboi in Singida Region.

The researcher returned to Mlowa Barabarani after Christmas. Soon after his arrival at the village, he learned that Ndugu Mbijili had been appointed a Headteacher or a Principal of a primary school about 10 kilometers away. After a few days, the Mlowa Barabarani primary school teachers organized a farewell party for Ndugu Mbijili to which the researcher was invited. Before the end of January, 1984, Ndugu Mbijili had already moved to his new school to take up his appointment.

Although Ndugu Mbijili left Mlowa Barabarani, he had assisted the researcher in establishing productive relationships between some graduates and the researcher. The task of the researcher then was to maintain and extend this relationship to other graduates and villagers. Following the commencement of a primary school session in January, 1984, all the teachers at Mlowa Barabarani became busy. The researcher could only see them occasionally or by appointment. The researcher was assigned to an office which he shared with a part-time postal clerk. The location of the sub-post office gave the researcher good opportunity of meeting people who visited the office on business.

The Researcher's Role at Mlowa Barabarani

'Wataalam' (experts) was a broad term commonly used at Mlowa Barabarani when referring to employees serving in the departments of health, livestock, primary court and education in that village. However, some villagers labelled the researcher as a 'new head of the CEC' or a 'Senior Auditor of the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunication' or 'Someone who went there to establish an Institute for Adult

Education for the Village' (Informant, interview, February 23, 1984). Since the researcher was assigned to an office which had labels on its door "Mkuu wa Kituo" (Head of the Centre) and "Post Office," some of the villagers probably had reasons to confuse the role of the researcher. These villagers viewed the researcher as having multiple roles. As a result, he was taken by one of the interviewees to his cell leader and finally to the "Chama Cha Mapinduzi" (CCM) branch Secretary for clarification. This event took place on April 28, 1984 at 4:40 p.m. in the course of cross informant interviewing. After the Secretary had assured the interviewee that the researcher was doing a study on adult education programs and not searching for people who had violated the 'udoba' (laziness) by-laws, the interviews were resumed. Within the CEC's staff and the political party branch leadership, the researcher was referred to as 'Mtaalam' (an expert). They understood that the researcher was doing research work on the adult education program.

It is worthwhile noting too that the period from December to April is a practical season (Mpogolo, 1980). As has already been said elsewhere, during this period, literacy pupils are expected to apply, on their respective farms, the theory they had learned when attending classes in the theoretical season (Mpogolo, 1980). During the entire research period there were no formal classes to be observed by the researcher. Instead, the researcher sometimes made arrangements with some graduates and went to observe some of their activities on their private farms. Sometimes the researcher worked in his office during morning hours. He studied adult pupils' reading materials, logbooks and other documents. He also prepared the semi-structured questionnaire for formal interviews, transcribed conversations from a tape recorder, analyzed data and translated the conversations from Kiswahili into English. On some Sundays, the researcher attended church services in churches of different denominations. The main purpose was to observe some graduates of the post-functional literacy program who conducted church services. These graduates were playing the role of catechists. They were only observed after they had expressed their willingness to let the researcher carry out the observation. The researcher conducted formal interviews with these graduates in the afternoons in the graduates' homes. A few of them were conducted at the CEC. Sometimes the researcher walked around the CEC's buildings during the day time to meet graduates who went there to get medical treatment from the centre or to buy things from the village shop or store.

He also conducted formal interviews with some CEC staff and village government leaders during or after office hours. Moreover, a good number of people visited the researcher either informally or formally. For example, some of the CEC's staff sought formal interviews with the researcher whenever they had personal concerns related to their work. When the researcher conducted such interviews, he listened attentively but reserved his comments. What the informants told him sometimes revealed a kind of antagonistic relationship that existed particularly between the CEC's staff and the village government leadership. The only suggestion given to them was to go and seek advice from the leaders concerned. Sometimes even passersby stopped at the office window, greeted the researcher and got involved in a conversation. Due to shortage of paper, some sick villagers also stopped by the office window and asked the researcher to provide them with some. When they got them, they handed them to the medical officer at the CEC who wrote prescriptions for their medical treatment. Such activities at the office were rather distracting. But the researcher had to take whatever office was made available to him. In his role as a participant observer, he attended meetings of Mlowa Barabarani village government, ritual and burial ceremonies as well as liquor parties. He also exchanged informal visits and gifts with some graduates and villagers.

On the whole, gaining entry from the top down to Mlowa Barabarani and finally to the respective graduates was not easy. But after the researcher had gained entry to the village and had established a productive relationship, he endeavoured to interact with his informants in a variety of situations from December 15, 1983 to May 3, 1984.

A brief description in the next section is concerned with size and some characteristics of the population of Mlowa Barabarani village.

Population

At the time of this research, Mlowa Barabarani had 847 families. The total population was about 3,331 people. About 1,410 (42.33 percent) of the adult population were able to work; 192 (5.76 percent) were the aged; 49 (1.47 percent) the disabled and 1,680 (50.44 percent) were children. The total number of females, both girls and women, outnumbered the total number of boys and men by 799 (23.99 percent) in the village (Mlowa Barabarani CCM office chart, 1983).

Connected with the population are the socio-economic activities of the villagers which are discussed in the following section.

Socio-Economic Aspects

Farming

Farming was the main economic activity at Mlowa Barabarani. Since the village usually received an average rainfall of 25 inches a year, millet, mainly 'lulu,' 'Sandara' and 'Serena' and sorghum were grown as staple foods. These crops were believed to be drought resistant. Groundnut was grown by the villagers as a cash crop (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984).

Mlowa Barabarani, being an Ujamaa village, its economic activities were organized on a block farming system. The system included communal farm activities (locally known as 'Matoleo,' from the Kiswahili word 'Kujitolea' meaning 'to volunteer') and private farm activities (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). Under this system, all able villagers participated in the village communal farms of 718 acres for three days a week and in their private farms for three days weekly. The 718 acre communal farms (which were termed by some villagers as "the branch Chairman's and Secretary's farms") were made up of 600 acres of millet, 50 acres groundnuts, 37 acres sunflower, 24 acres castor oil plants, 17 acres cassava and 8 acres of grapes. With the exception of millet and cassava, all the other crops were grown for commercial purposes (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984).

It was also noted that from 1981/82 rain season the villagers began planting crops on the communal farms in rows according to respective spacing recommended by agricultural experts (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). It was claimed that it was the village government's 'udoba' (Cigogo word meaning 'laziness') by-law of 1975 which made the villagers' participation in communal farm activities possible. Under this by-law, the village government could take disciplinary measures against any villager who did not participate in communal farm activities without good reason (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

In operational terms, every able villager at Mlowa Barabarani was assigned to about one-half an acre on the communal farms to work on (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). The work involved on the farm included planting of seeds/cuttings, cultivation, weeding and harvesting. 'Planting' as used by Mlowa Barabarani residents generally refers to the activities of making small holes close to a stretched rope(s) on their farms by using hoes, putting the number of recommended seeds in them and covering these seeds with some soil. These activities, which were done manually, were carried out before the rains for the season began. When the rains came, the seeds germinated, and cultivation started immediately. This activity was followed by first and second weeding. But whenever a tractor or an oxen plough was used, cultivation on the farms was done first; the planting of seeds/cuttings was performed later (Muyombo, interview, February 2, 1984).

Fortunately, the village had a tractor which was given to it by the Prime Minister's Office in 1978 as a prize for being one of the best villages in agricultural activities in the region (Muyombo, interview, February 2, 1984). The tractor, which had no mechanic, was being driven by several unlicenced drivers/learners including some of the top leaders of the village government. It could cultivate 300 acres only during the farming season because it needed repairs from time to time and spares for tractors were scarce in the country (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984). One of the top village government leaders claimed that the rest of the cultivation on the communal farms was done by both the villagers and oxen ploughs. But through observation and informal interviews, it was learned that the rest of the work on the communal farms was done by the villagers by using hoes. During the entire research period, the oxen ploughs were never used. They were simply laying outside the CEC's compound and getting rusty.

It is true that the village had eight oxen ploughs. These ploughs were bought some years back after the Dodoma Rural District Office had issued a directive requiring all the villages in the district to purchase some. After Mlowa Barabarani had bought the oxen ploughs, the villagers contributed about 80 head of cattle to be trained so that the villagers could use the oxen ploughs for cultivation on the communal farms. Some experts from Iringa Region were recruited by the Dodoma Rural District Office for the purpose of training the oxen. According to what some informants said, after some months the oxen were well trained by these experts. But after the experts had left for Iringa, nobody at Mlowa Barabarani cared to use the oxen ploughs. The cattle remained part of the Ujamaa Village property. The cattle were being kept by a villager who was also serving as a nightwatchman. Another villager's task was to graze the cattle daily. Both of them were being paid a monthly allowance of not less than Tanzanian shillings 150/= each by the village government. In short, neither the oxen ploughs nor the oxen were being used for cultivation on the communal farms. The emphasis seemed to be put on the use of a tractor for cultivation. This emphasis was highlighted when Muyombo (interview, March 14, 1984) told the researcher, "In future, the village plans to buy about four new tractors with planting and weeding implements."

The harvest from the communal farms was shared equally between the village government and the villagers who participated in the farming activities. A villager received half of the crop from the one-half an acre on the communal for his/her personal use in case of food; the village government retained the other half of the harvest for preservation. But the village used to get inadequate insecticide (such as actelic 2 percent) for preservation of the cereals (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). The village government sometimes sold part of the crop to the villagers or outsiders who might be interested in buying it. During the field study, it was claimed that the village had been harvesting between 1,600 and 3,800 sacks of millet from the 600 acre millet communal farm per annum (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). In 1982/83, for example, the village harvested a total of 1,600 sacks of millet from the communal farm. The low harvest was attributed to a drought that occurred in that year (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). In general, Tanzania as a whole was among countries which had been experiencing drought for almost three consecutive years and the rate of inflation in the country's economy in 1982/83 was 27 percent (Msuya, Daily News No. 3525, June 16, 1984, p. 4). However, about 100 out of 800 sacks of millet preserved by the village government were sold to the National Milling Corporation (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). According to other sources, it was estimated that between 200 and 300 sacks of millet were sold by the village government to institutions outside the village. Dodoma was among regions in which food shortages were being felt at that time (Sunday News, No. 1617, February 26, 1984). The rest of the millet was sold to the villagers. By the end of February, 1984 all the millet had been sold and most of the villagers had no food.

The village government's attempt to buy food from Iringa Region for its people was not very successful. In the first week of February, 1984 a 10 ton lorry of the village, which was sent to Iringa Region to buy food for the villagers, was sent back without food by the authority in Iringa. During its second attempt in March, 1984, the lorry only managed to get 60 sacks of maize for the village from Iringa. Then those villagers who had no food had to rely mainly on about 10 sacks of maize flour from Dodoma Regional Trading Company per week. These were inadequate. A family was only allowed to buy about 2 kilos of maize flour sold by the village shop or store. Those villagers who had serious shortages of food started eating millet from their private farms by April, 1984. The millet seeds were not quite ready for harvest but the villagers had to select (or in Cigogo 'kusolowela') the ones they thought were almost ready, harvested, dried them in the sunshine, ground them and prepared food.

Apart from the villager's participation in the communal farm activities, the person worked on a private farm for three days a week (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). According to 'Tangazo la Serikali' No. 165/77 (Government Notice No. 165/77), any individual in Tanzania who owned land was required to cultivate not less than two acres for food crops and an acre for cash crop(s) during the farming season. Anyone who failed to do so, if found guilty of an offense, was liable to a fine not exceeding Tanzanian shillings 500.00 or imprisonment not exceeding two months or both. Further, following a seminar conducted in September, 1983, by the Dodoma District Office (Rural) for the village government leaders, all the villagers were required to plant their crops in rows according to recommended spacing. Most villagers began doing so on their private farms during the 1983/84 farming season (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). Few villagers welcomed and appreciated this innovation. For the majority of the villagers, planting crops in rows and according to specified spacing was troublesome. They only implemented this under the supervision of the village government (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984).

On the private farms adjacent to the village communal farm for millet, the villagers were required to grow only the type of millet such as 'lulu,' 'Sandara' and 'Serena' as recommended by the agricultural experts (Muyombo, interview, February 10, 1984). The villagers could grow any other types of traditional millet or sorghum on their private farms around their respective homes or elsewhere. Most villagers also grew groundnut on their private farms. Other crops grown by a few villagers on their private farms included: grapes grown by five villagers, rice by four and cassava by about 353 individuals. Although castor oil seeds were issued to the villagers free of charge, there was no record showing the number of people who had actually planted them. For sunflower, only one government leader had planted this crop on his private farm. Out of fifteen bags of sunflower seeds only five bags of seed were used for planting on the communal farm. The rest of the seeds were set aside for sale to the villagers so that they could buy and plant them on their private farms (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

However, the ambitions of Mlowa Barabarani villagers could be found in the number of acres they had planted on their private farms, particularly for food crops during the 1983/84 farming season. Many individuals interviewed said that they had planted between 3 and 17 acres on their private farms during that season. If every villager who was able to work had planted food crops or millet on his/her private farm of not less than 2 acres, it means that the whole village had planted a total of about 2,820 acres. The number of acres planted might seem small. For an individual who depended entirely on the use of the hoe for cultivation and weeding, 16 or 17 acres were considerably large. Although some villagers could afford hiring the village tractor for cultivation, most were unable to do so because the waiting list for hiring it was too long (Chikoti, interview, May 2, 1984). For example, Muyombo (interview, March 14, 1984) was among those few who managed to hire it. He used it to cultivate only 7 out of 8 acres on his private farm during the 1983/84 farming season.

He cultivated the other acre by using a hoe. Maope (interview, March 17, 1984), after hiring it, cultivated only 2 acres of his private farm. The village tractor was only hired for cultivation; the weeding on these private farms had to be done manually by using hoes.

However, it was disappointing to see that some of the villagers cultivated and weeded just a third or a half of their farms they had planted. Others neither cultivated nor weeded a single acre. As one informant put it (interview, May 2, 1984), "about 0.05 percent only of all the private farms at Mlowa Barabarani have been cultivated and weeded this year. The remaining 99.95 percent of the private farms have neither been cultivated nor weeded." The informant pointed out that he only managed to cultivate and weed 8 acres out of 16 acres he had planted on his private farm during the season. He was able to do so because he used casual labourers. Further, a public employee in a conversation on February 8, 1984 with another employee who had just returned from his official leave, complained:

> There has been too much rain this year and too much grass on our farms. These farms are now muddy with too many snakes. I have had millet seeds about two tinfuls planted on my private farm this year. What a waste of food! I wish I had consumed my millet instead of planting it. But I am going neither to cultivate nor to weed it.

The other employee supported his stand, saying:

> After my arrival from my official leave, I have heard some stories about the real state in which our farms are now. I do not even want to go and see my farm. I am prepared to buy food next year. I am not going to work on it.

In Muyombo's words (interview, February 10, 1984):

> It was possible that every villager might have cultivated and weeded one or one and one-half acres only because of too much rain which has prevented the villagers from cultivating and weeding their private farms this year. But some villagers who have had financial power or food or heads of cattle had

> cultivated and weeded three acres or more because they could afford to hire casual labourers.

As far as Muyombo (interview, February 10, 1984) was concerned, he cultivated and weeded 8 out of 16 acres he had planted. This was possible because he utilized casual labourers. The villagers who worked as casual labourers were those who did not grow anything during the previous year because of drought or due to their own laziness (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

On March 10, 1984, the researcher visited the communal farms by a tractor (locally known as a 'cab' or 'taxi') which was being driven by one of the unlicenced top village government officials. The purpose of the researcher's visit was to see the block farms comprising communal farms and the villagers' private farms. Although there were still some small uncultivated/unweeded areas here and there on the millet communal farm, there were some villagers working on them. The general impression of the researcher was that the communal farm for millet had been well cultivated and weeded. The millet plants, mainly 'lulu,' growing on 'Black Cotton Soils' looked green and healthy. The two officers accompanying the researcher were pleased with the progress of the millet on the communal farm. One of them remarked:

> Look at our work, it is wonderful . . . Next month many government and party leaders from the district, regional and national level might start visiting our farms to see our work! This year our village is likely to be the first in the agricultural activities competition.

(See photographs of various plants in Appendix J.)

But there was a very big contrast between the millet communal farm and the area adjacent to it. The area which the researcher had heard about from different informants formed part of the villagers' private farms. On this area, there were very thin millet plants here and there with tall grass. However, there were also some healthy millet plants on that area in small patches which had been cultivated and weeded by the owners. When the researcher inquired about the area, the response given by the two officials accompanying him was that the thin millet plants he was seeing had not been planted by anybody. They simply germinated out of the left overs of millet after the 1982/83 harvest. One day on his way to one of the post-functional literacy graduate's private farms, the researcher inquired about the area from the graduate accompanying him (March 12, 1984). The graduate innocently said that the area formed part of private farms belonging to some villagers who had planted the millet during the 1983/84 rainy season, but they neither cultivated nor weeded them.

When talking to one informant (March 17, 1984), the researcher learned that the village government had perhaps failed to educate the villagers that these private millet farms adjacent to the communal millet farm were theirs and not part of the communal farm.

Livestock raising was one of the economic activities at Mlowa Barabarani. The sub-section which follows discusses this aspect of the economy.

Livestock

According to 1983 statistics, the village had 6,418 head of cattle, 1,480 goats, 327 sheep and 102 donkeys (Ward Secretary's Office Chart, February 10, 1984). No cross-breeding of these animals had been done. As a result, cows were giving a low yield of milk (Ngayoa, interview, February 24, 1984).

Ngayoa (interview, February 24, 1984) pointed out that because of the large size of livestock at Mlowa Barabarani, there was a big shortage of water and grass for these animals especially during the dry season. Some villagers had to move their livestock temporarily to neighbouring villages where they could get both water and pasture during the dry season. As such, it was difficult to control or to treat livestock diseases. It was also difficult to persuade the villagers to sell part of the livestock and use the money for building modern houses or for buying ploughs. They valued livestock more than anything else. To use an oxen for cultivation with a plough was viewed by the villagers as an act of brutality (Ngayoa, interview, February 24, 1984). The following section deals with commercial aspects in the village.

Commercial Aspects

In addition to farming and livestock raising, the village had a shop or store which was established in 1974. The shop was established out of the villagers' contributions totaling Tanzanian shs. 3,800.00. The shop was part of Ujamaa village run on a cooperative basis. It was earning between shs. 3,000.00 and shs. 4,000.00 a month as profits from the sale of goods. It was estimated that it had accumulated a sum of Tanzanian shs. 500,000.00. Unfortunately, the profits had not been shared among the shareholders since the shop was established in 1974 (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984). This had not been possible because the shareholders and accounts personnel were unable to produce the relevant documents such as receipts and registers of shareholders. Second, the profits could be shared only after all the villagers had paid their contributions and become members of the cooperative village shop (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

The village also had a flour mill machine which was purchased out of the sales of the communal farm produce. The machine cost the village Tanzanian shs. 40,701.30. It was a source of income for the village. The money accrued from milling the villagers' cereals was between Tanzanian shs. 8,000.00 and shs. 10,000.00 a month (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

Further, the village owned a 10 ton lorry. But its income to the village was low. Its costs for gas and maintenance were higher than its income. Its maintenance sometimes depended on the money derived from the sale of agricultural produce. It was earning about Tanzanian shs. 10,000.00 a month. This was because cargo for transportation could not often be found (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984).

Another project was that of trees planted by the villagers for fuel and building purposes. There were only Tanzanian shs. 11,000.00 accrued from fines paid by people who had cut trees or burned the forest. The project had not begun producing in the real sense. On the whole, it was estimated that the money that the village had from the projects including assets, totalled Tanzanian shs. 1 million (Muyombo, interview, March 14, 1984). The post-functional literacy program conducted at Mlowa Barabarani CEC is discussed in the section that follows.

Post-Functional Literacy Program at Mlowa Barabarani

At Mlowa Barabarani, post-functional literacy classes were conducted in the CEC's buildings. These buildings were officially opened on November 2, 1977 (CEC's 1977 to 19-- Log Book). A sketch map for Mlowa Barabarani and the location of the CEC is presented on the next page. Phogoraphs for some CEC's buildings are shown in Appendix K.

The adult pupils enrolled in the program were those who had achieved levels III and IV in reading, writing and arithmetic in the National Literacy Tests (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984).

The pupils were expected to attend classes from May 1 to November. These classes were scheduled three times a week from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m. The classes were taught by Mlowa Barabarani primary school teachers. Each pupil was expected to take nine subjects designed for level V (Itambu, interview, March 13, 1984). But the period between May and July was the time when all the villagers were busy harvesting their crops. In some years there were too many birds during that season. They could, for example, eat all the millet if it was not harvested promptly. Whenever such a situation arose, the practical season had to be extended to enable the villagers to harvest all their crops lest they were eaten up by those birds (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984).

The following summary shows the number of graduates at Mlowa Barabarani who had reached levels III and IV in the National Literacy Tests from 1975 to 1983 (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984):

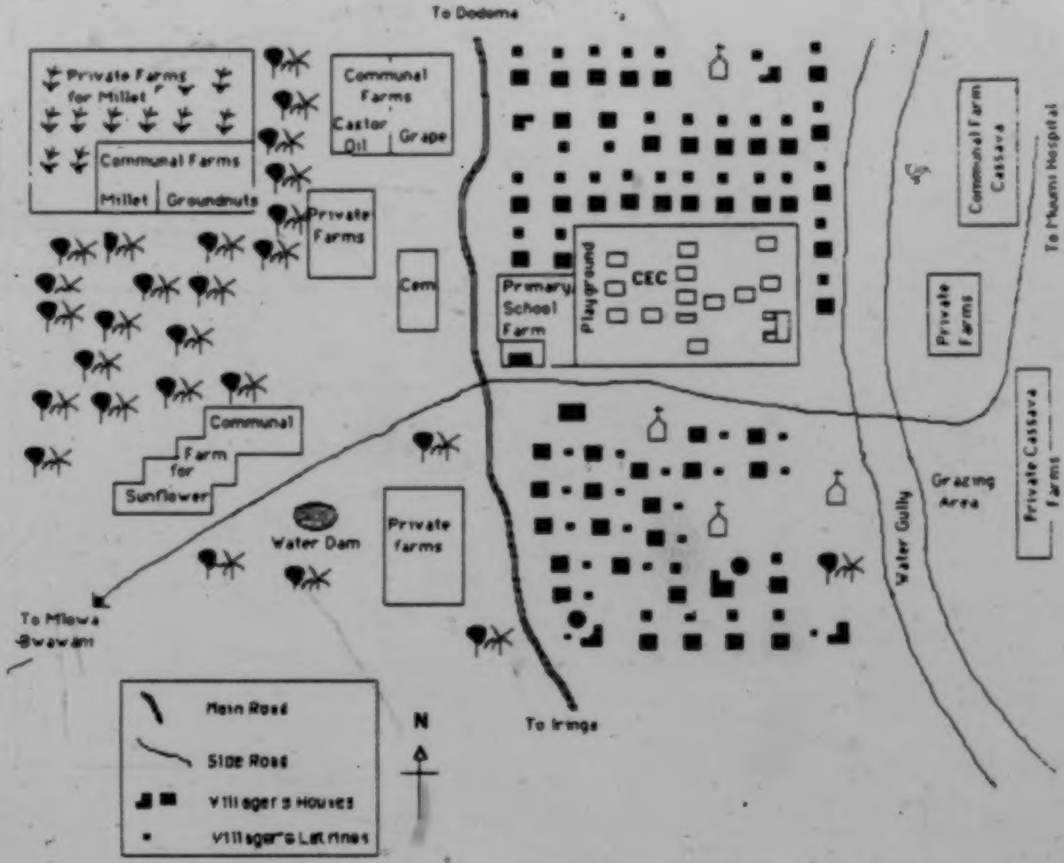
To Dodoma
Private Farms for Millet
Communal Farms
Millet
Groundnuts
Communal Farms
Castor Oil
Grape
Private Farms
Corn
Primary School Farm
Playground
CEC
Communal Farm for Sunflower
Water Dam
Private farms
To Mlowa Bwawani
To Iringa
Water Gully
Grazing Area
Private Farms
Communal Farm Cassava
To Mbuuni Hospital
Private Cassava Farms
Main Road
Side Road
Villager's Houses
Villager's Latrines
N

Figure 3. A SKETCH MAP OF MLOWA BARABARANI UJAMAA VILLAGE

Year	Male	Female	Total
1975	115	143	258
1977	67	46	113
1981	66	95	161
1983	16	20	36
Totals	264	304	568

Some graduates who had achieved levels III and IV and who were enrolled in the post-functional literacy program sat for the Fourth National Adult Education Literacy Examination in 1983. These graduates who sat for this examination comprised 77 males and 65 females. They were tested in Kiswahili, Political Education, Mathematics, Home Economics, Technical Education, History and Geography. But only four males were successful in the examination and achieved level VI. In order to pass this examination, the candidate had to pass in three compulsory subjects and in three optionals. Candidates who got an A or B and passed in not less than two compulsory subjects were considered to have achieved level VI (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984).

The examination had theoretical and practical parts. The theoretical portion had 40 percent allotted to it. And the practical part in Technical Education and Home Economics had 60 percent based on cumulative assessment (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984).

The results of the examination were usually announced on the 5th of February at the National level. Then the candidates concerned were given their results in their respective classrooms (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984; Itambu, interview, March 13, 1984). At the Divisional level, the candidates were given their results and certificates at a ceremony (Mosha, interview, February 7, 1984).

However, a shortage of stationery such as pencils, pens and notebooks was one of the bottlenecks of the program. Text books were in short supply. Two pupils had to share reading a text book. This system did not allow them to borrow the books for more reading practice during leisure time. Although the centre had a library, it was not being fully utilized by the pupils. Further, there was no record to show how many books the library had. The two temporary librarians sometimes never showed up because the monthly allowance they had been promised had not been forthcoming (Itambu, interview, March 13, 1984). Throughout the research period there were no books in the library. Instead Mlowa Barabarani student teachers were using it as an office.

The views of the village government were that the pupils' attendance during the previous theoretical teaching season was unsatisfactory. This was revealed by the village government in its minutes of the previous meeting during its meeting on January 14, 1984, which the researcher attended. The following section is concerned with the role played by Mlowa Barabarani dispensary in health education.

The Role of Mlowa Barabarani Dispensary in Health Education

Apart from treating outpatients, the dispensary at Mlowa Barabarani provided health education to mothers who brought their babies for innoculation. Talks on a particular disease were given by medical staff before innoculating the babies (Kachingwe, interview, February 9, 1984).

The diseases selected for discussions were those which were attacking people at that particular time or season. For example, the talk could be on malaria fever which was seasonal. This disease attacked people during the rainy season in that village. Cholera, which claimed three lives between November, 1982 and March, 1983 at Mlowa Barabarani, was among those diseases discussed at the clinic and at the village government rallies. The source of the disease was a gully that was bringing infected water from Mrumi village to Mlowa Barabarani. When a machine that was pumping water for the village (Mlowa Barabarani) went out of order, the villagers had to rely on the water from the gully for domestic purposes. Appropriate action had to be taken in order to prevent the disease from spreading (Kachingwe, interviews, February 9, 1984, March 14, 1985). The villagers were, for instance, advised to boil water for drinking, to prepare refuse pits, to make a 'kichanja' (a small structure on which washed dishes could be put to dry), and to make sure that the surroundings of every house in the village were clean. A committee whose responsibility was to supervise the implementation of the directive was formed by the village government. The committee was also responsible for conducting regular inspections of the compounds of the villagers' houses. The purpose was to ensure that these compounds were kept clean daily. The villagers whose house compounds were dirty could be dealt with accordingly under the udoba by-laws. Further, spirillum tick fever which was common at Mlowa Barabarani could also be discussed at the clinic (Kachingwe, interview, February 9, 1984).

Cultural aspects comprising shared knowledge, techniques and values through which villagers of Mlowa Barabarani interacted, conducted and expressed their life are discussed in the section that follows.

Cultural Aspects at Mlowa Barabarani

Mlowa Barabarani was run by an elected village government. Under the village government, there were several departments which provided essential services to the village.

Kiswahili language was commonly used in the offices and at the village government meetings. Most church services were also conducted in Kiswahili.

Through literature, campaigns, visits and contacts with various experts, the villagers generally seemed to have acquired some theoretical understanding of modern agricultural methods, health education and political consciousness. But as far as the use of modern tools in agriculture was concerned, the hoe was still dominantly used. The adoption of modern agricultural methods and hygienic practices was in various stages. Further, several villagers expressed the need to give certain kinds of food to their children which were once believed to be taboo.

Family ties were still strong in the village. But these ties had been extended to include people other than family members. For example, a funeral service of a grade 3 boy on March 3, 1984 was attended by many villagers including Mlowa Barabarani primary school teachers, school children's representatives, village government and party leaders and the researcher. Most people who attended the service gave their contributions towards the cost of burial cloth. But the primary school contributed a substantial sum of money towards this cost. A catechist conducting the burial service warned the mourners that a human being's life in this world was very short. So he urged people to prepare themselves for the kind of life they were going to have after death.

Traditional dances occupied an important part in recreation. The air was filled with sounds of drums and songs in the evenings and sometimes throughout the nights, especially during weekends. Sometimes the sounds of these drums and songs marked a girl's puberty celebration. Both girls' and boys' circumcisions were celebrated. During these celebrations, the villagers danced, feasted and drank liquor. Making the celebrations a success could be costly to the host.

Communication and transportation which enabled Mlowa Barabarani to interact with the outside world are dealt with in the following section.

Communication and Transportation

As the word 'Barabarani' in Kiswahili implies "on the road" (Safari, 1980, p. 78), Mlowa Barabarani village is on the Dodoma-Iringa main road. The village had its own 10 ton lorry which was used to get commercial goods for the village shop from Dodoma Municipality. Sometimes it was hired by different institutions and organizations to carry goods to various parts in the country. It also carried patients who were in serious condition from the village to Mvumi Mission Hospital which is about 11 kilometres away. Another 10 ton lorry belonging to a neighbouring village and any other loaded or unloaded lorries or pick-ups carried passengers from Mlowa Barabarani to different places and back to the village.

There were several buses which were expected to provide regular services between Dodoma and Iringa. But these buses operated on irregular schedules. Sometimes prospective passengers from or to Mlowa Barabarani had to postpone their journeys several times. On the whole, transportation from and/or to the village was frustrating. At his own risk, the researcher used all these modes of transport, such as buses, loaded and unloaded trucks and pick-ups.

The sub-post office also experienced problems because the buses which delivered mail betweeen Dodoma and Mlowa Barabarani operated on an irregular schedule. Sometimes the postal clerk had to stand on the main road waiting for a bus to deliver and/or collect mail for about eight hours without getting or sending any. A brief summary of the chapter is provided under the section which follows.

A General Summary of the Research Setting

The information contained in this chapter was based on the researcher's experiences and viewpoints as well as on information gathered from a few selected informants. Most of the information was collected from informants who were not necessarily graduates of the post-functional literacy program. The purpose of this information was to facilitate an understanding of the context of Mlowa Barabarani. Second, this information also enabled the researcher to countercheck some of the information he collected in Chapter V. Names of all the informants who participated in the study are shown in Appendix L. The graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy program are presented in Chapter V.

Chapter V

FINDINGS

The Graduates' Perspectives Through In-depth Study

The purpose of this study was to attempt to understand the rural graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum. Specifically, the researcher attempted to understand the different points of view of the graduates of the program. In this chapter, an attempt is made to describe the graduates' biographical and cultural background, values and intentions brought to the program. Further, the foundational assumptions of the program, the extent to which the program has had an impact on the lives of its graduates, the strengths and weaknesses of the program and how it could be improved are presented as expressed by the graduates.

The perspectives presented in this chapter include those of the graduates who partially participated and of those who fully participated in the in-depth study. Those graduates who were involved in less than seven formal interviews (or equivalent) in the in-depth study were considered to have had partial participation. Those who participated in seven formal interviews (or equivalent) were regarded as having participated fully in the study. As far as the organisation of data is concerned, the perspectives of the graduates who had partial participation in the study are presented first. Second, the perspectives of those who participated fully in the study follow. Each informant's perspectives are presented individually.

Much of the material in this chapter was gathered from the graduates or informants through an open-ended semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix B). The questionnaire was developed gradually in the field and administered orally by the researcher to the informants individually. Some of the questions included in the questionnaire were based on the researcher's observations, document analysis and informal discussions with various informants at Mlowa Barabarani CEC. After a formal interview had been conducted and tape recorded, each transcript was read to the informant concerned in Kiswahili before proceeding to the interview that followed. Part of the material was obtained through informal discussions held between the informants and the researcher. On the whole, the guiding questions of the study were used as a frame of reference in constructing the semi-structured questionnaire.

Informant A, January 16, 1984

The researcher had two informal discussions with informant A before holding a tape recorded formal interview even though the first formal interview scheduled on January 15, 1984 had to be postponed until January 16, 1984.

During the formal interview on January 16, 1984, the informant A when asked to give his brief life history, said:

> I was born in 1951 in this village. I am a peasant-farmer. And since 1980 I have been working as a night watchman for the village government after having been trained as a militia man in 1978. My appointment as a night watchman was based purely on my good conduct and not on whether or not I was literate. But during day time I still work on my farm. For example, in 1980 I harvested about 10 sacks of millet. These were adequate

> for my family's food for the whole year. I even sold about three tinfuls of millet in order to get money to buy clothes for my family.
>
> . . . I received primary or elementary education up to grade 4. During that time, I did not realize the importance of education. I did not take it seriously. And as a result of this I failed a grade 5 entrance examination in 1970.
>
> After leaving school, I married in 1978 and I have two young children who have not yet started schooling. When these children reach school going age, they must be encouraged to go to school. They should get higher education than I had.

In his response to a question on when and why he joined the program, the informant pointed out:

> I joined the program in 1980 in order to get some more education which would help me in my life. An illiterate person will find it difficult in corresponding with some of his relatives living in distant places. Second, someone who is illiterate may see a sign 'HATARI' [Danger] displayed somewhere, since he does not understand what it is all about, he may simply go past it.

Recalling what he learned from the program, the informant had this to say:

> In the past we did not understand the importance of cleanliness, but now we do. We have also learned the importance of planting millet in rows according to a recommended spacing of 2' x 1'. We did not know this, now we do. By planting millet in rows one can get more food than someone who has planted it anyhow as we used to do in the past. When one plants millet anyhow, he wastes a lot of space on the farm. For example, by planting millet in rows on a three acre farm and using methods in 'Kilimo Bora' [or good agricultural methods], one can get more food than what another person would harvest from a 10 acre farm on which the millet had not been planted in rows.

Asked how appropriate the program was to his own situation and needs, the informant stated:

> There are many things that we have learned which are appropriate to our situation and needs. But we can not easily tell the appropriateness of a few things which we were taught and read about them from literacy books. For instance, we simply read books on how to grow rice, it is difficult to say how profitable or unprofitable it is to grow rice here. We have not yet grown rice 'kwa vitendo' [practically].

The informant when asked if he had ever sat for any National Adult Education Literacy Examination, said:

> I sat for such an examination in 1981 and 1983. But to date they have given us neither the 1981 nor the 1983 examination results. . . . I do not know whether or not I passed in these examinations. We just heard that certificates for those who passed in the examinations had been brought to the CEC. But we have not seen them. I do not know if the certificates have been given to those who passed in the examinations or not.

Reacting to a question on what he had been doing with what he had learned from the program, the informant said:

> By applying my education I have had, I have begun harvesting enough food crops. . . . I did not get good harvest in 1982, but this was due to the fact that not all my private farm was cultivated in that year. . . . When it rains, it is difficult to cultivate on 'mbuga nyeusi' [literally means "black plains"; meaning "Mbuga Soils" or "Black Cotton Soils"; discussion with Rweyemamu, August 28, 1984; Mohr et al., 1972] because it becomes muddy. They must get a bit dry before they can be cultivated.

Further, his reaction to a question on the kind of problems (if any) he had been experiencing in applying his knowledge in his real situation was:

> I have not been experiencing any problems. If I have a problem concerning my livestock, I shall ask a veterinary officer to come and see what the problem is. . . . Although there are traditional doctors who treat people, there are none who can treat cattle.
>
> . . . In case of millet cereals being destroyed by insects after harvest, I shall buy and use medicines [insecticides] from shops. If I do not get any from the shops, I shall use 'Mkunghuni' [a local tree called Mkunghuni from which local insecticide is prepared]. It is nonpoisonous. . . . I acquired this knowledge from my fellow villagers and not from the post-functional literacy program.

When this formal interview was over, the researcher had one brief informal discussion with the informant A on January 21, 1984. Another formal interview was scheduled for February 7, 1984.

Unfortunately the interview had to be cancelled because the interviewee was not at his home—the place earmarked for the interview. He had remained on the village communal farm for cassava relaxing after a day's work. A message as a reminder concerning the interview sent to him through his wife who went to get a key to their house's door from him on Feburary 7, 1984 did not bring any productive results. After the researcher had waited for him for an hour or so, he sensed that the informant was exhibiting signs of informal withdrawal from the study. No more formal interviews were arranged with him from then on.

Informant B, January 15, 1984

The researcher having had two informal discussions with informant B, conducted a tape recorded formal interview with same on January 15, 1984. The informant B was the father of the informant A and both of them lived in the same compound.

Giving his brief life history during the formal interview, the informant B stated:

> I was born in this country of Mlowa Barabarani. But I do not remember my birthdate [he was about 64 years old as estimated by his colleague, informant E, who claimed to be in the same age group]. I am a peasant-farmer and a night watchman for the village government's livestock. As a night watchman, I do not sleep at night, I sit outside my house for the whole night. I get a monthly allowance of Tz. shillings 150/- for the task which I think is inadequate. I only sleep for two hours a day, from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. I do not dose during the day-time. I work on my farm.
>
> . . . I did not get any primary education when I was a child because there were no schools in our village at that time.
>
> I am married. I have six children and three grandchildren. One of my children has primary grade 4 education, two of them have primary grade 7 education and one is still in primary school grade 5. The rest have not had any schooling. I am grateful to see some of my children having an opportunity to go to school. I would have liked to see them getting further education.

Since the informant had no schooling during his childhood, he joined the program after he had heard some announcements about it:

> I heard some announcements being made about the program that those who wanted to study would join it. And I decided to become a pupil of the program in 1981 in order to receive knowledge. For example, I wanted to learn literacy skills and learn about balanced diet. I thought it was a good idea to follow the examples set by my children who had schooling. By children I mean teachers including my own children and other people's.

Taking stock of what he had learned from the program, the informant said:

> When I enrolled in the program, I did not know Kiswahili language. However, after I had joined the program and had been taught by the children [teachers], I now know it. I have also learned some literacy skills. The program has been beneficial to me.

Commenting on how the learning for the program was planned, the informant stated:

> The learning for the program was planned by teachers only. They wrote the lesson(s) on the blackboards. Even if I had been involved in planning the learning, I would not have dreamed of what should be taught. My role is to follow the leaders who are in a position to decide what should be taught.

The informant's reaction on the application aspect of the knowledge he had gained from the program was that:

> I am now able to read Kiswahili books, simple friendly letters and newspapers with little difficulty. I only get problems when I read handwritten materials. . . . I find that the knowledge I received in good agriculture and reading to be very beneficial to me. For example, by using some methods which we learned in agriculture, to-day we plant our crops in rows and leave two millet plants only in each hole during weeding. By so doing we get a lot of food. Traditionally, we used to leave 17 or 18 millet plants in each hole. It is about four years since the village government issued a directive that we should plant our crops in rows and leave two plants only in each hole. However, some villagers still believe that when they leave many millet plants in each hole they get a lot of food.
>
> . . . It is easy to plant millet in rows. An individual may take only two days to plant millet in rows on an acre and six days only to do this kind of work on a three acre farm.

> Today, I grow 'lulu' and 'serena' which are drought resistant type of millet. In the past I used to grow 'lugugu' type of millet which takes a long time to yield.
>
> . . . The fact that someone has joined the program, does not make much difference. For example, a lazy person will continue producing little food. Such a person may have the appropriate knowledge, but fail to apply it. Sometimes bad weather condition may affect crops. For instance, we had very little rains in 1982, as a result I do not have enough food this year.

Asked if he had any problems in applying his knowledge, the informant responded:

> In applying my knowledge, I do not have any difficulty. It is easy to apply it. . . . If my cattle get diseases, I shall ask a veterinary officer to come and treat them. Local medicines for cattle are now dissappearing. . . . If I fell sick, I would go to a hospital for treatment. Today, local medicines are no good. The medicines given by hospitals are better than the local ones. And at the hospital you are examined before you are treated.

Since he enrolled in the program in 1981, the informant said that he had sat for two National Adult Education Literacy Examinations—but:

> I sat for Literacy Examinations in 1981 and 1983. But I have not got any results to date. I simply heard from some people that we failed in the examinations. . . . I think I failed in these examinations because they were hard. . . . I have not asked about the results from the teacher. Although he is kind, I fear him. . . . I am not going to ask him about the examination results because it is now a long time since I sat for these examinations. I shall remain quiet, if the examination results are available, the teacher will one day give them to us.

Informant B, February 10, 1984

The informant reacting to a question designed to detect the extent to which the program had helped him in changing the perspectives of his world view, said:

> In our program, we have learned the importance of eating 'chakula bora' [balanced diet]. The list of food stuffs included, among other things, eggs and liver. When I was a child,

> my parents did not allow me to eat these food stuffs. They did not give me any reasons for the taboos. These taboos were meant to let the grown ups eat these food stuffs alone. The taboos were bad and baseless. I do not know whether or not old people in those days were selfish. After learning from the program about balanced diet, I allow my children to eat different kinds of food stuffs.

On the basis of the researcher's observations and document analysis, the informant was asked to give a brief account on 'a small house,' 'small pit,' a 'Kichanja' (a simple structure made of sticks on which washed dishes are put in order to dry) near his house and the use of 'an oxen plough.' He stated:

> The small building which you see outside my house is a latrine. Without it people would attend their call of nature anywhere. The latrine prevents people from doing this. And it helps to prevent diseases from spreading. Before Mlowa Barabarani was established as an Ujamaa village, there were no latrines in the village. People used to attend their call of nature in the bushes nearby.
>
> In regard to that small pit over there, it is used for the disposal of garbage. When it is full of garbage, the garbage is burned lest the dirt brings diseases.
>
> A 'kichanja' is something on which washed dishes are put so that they get dry. The dishes are put there so that they do not get dirt and rust. When they are dry, they are put inside the house. This prevents diseases from spreading.
>
> Finally, nobody has started using oxen ploughs for cultivation in our village. People cannot buy ploughs because they have no money. There are some people with large heads of cattle who could buy ploughs. But some of these people think that to use oxen for cultivation with ploughs is to make them suffer. Such people do not understand the importance of oxen ploughs. I think they will understand later on. If I had money, I would buy some oxen and a plough. Then I would get some people to train the oxen for me so that I could use them for cultivation.

Further, on the bases of the researcher's document analysis and discussions with various informants, the informant B was asked to give brief accounts on 'clean water for drinking,' 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' (CCM), and the 'importance of including English subject in the program.' This is what he said:

> Clean water for drinking is the water that has been drawn from a well and boiled before drinking. Before the water is boiled, it is not clean. My family boils water for drinking daily.
>
> As far as 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi(CCM)' is concerned, these are cards. The cards in which the word CCM is written are called CCM. I simply hear about cards which are called CCM. There is nothing else called CCM except the cards.
>
> In regard to English, I like it. But I have not been taught this subject. If our teachers decide to teach it or to teach any other subject, let them do it. But I am too old to learn English. I do not think that the learning of English will help me in any way. Even if I learned it, I would only be able to understand and speak it. I would not be able to read because my eye sight is deteriorating. . . . If you are blind and use reading glasses, will you be able to see things clearly? [After a pause, he gave an answer to his question.] You will not see anything even if you put on reading glasses.

The informant's comments on the extent to which the program had assisted him in changing his perspectives of the world view in terms of social aspects were:

> I am grateful to these children who invented these good words, . . . I mean knowledge. In the past, especially during the colonial days, I used to avoid educated people because I was afraid of them. . . . I behaved in that way because a government revenue collector had slapped me on my face for not having paid my personal tax in time. After joining the program, I am not afraid of the educated people any more. For example, you invited me to come to your place to-day, and I have come. I am now drinking tea with you and sharing the same table with you. In the past, I would not have done this.

After this formal interview, a subsequent interview appointment with the informant B was not kept despite the researcher's keeping his own appointment. When the informant was visited by the researcher for the interview on February 16, 1984, he was busy preparing some beehives. He told the researcher that after finishing his task he would go for the interview at the researcher's lodging. The researcher went back to his lodging and waited for the informant. But the informant never turned up. And no apology was given by the informant for not keeping the appointment. In the researcher's view, the appointment as well as the study did not probably mean much to the informant B. The informant's failure to keep this appointment was considered by the researcher as a sign of informal withdrawal from the study. The researcher decided to reduce the number of the informants further down to three which could possibly be manageable for the in-depth study.

Informant C, January 15, 1984

Two informal discussions were held between informant C and the researcher before the first tape recorded formal interview was conducted by the researcher on January 15, 1984.

The researcher started off by asking the informant to give a brief account of his life history. In his response, the informant said:

> I do not know my birth date [he was probably in his late thirties]. I am a peasant-farmer, a catechist since 1981 and I have been a representative member in Mlowa Barabarani village government since 1981. My main occupation is farming. As a catechist, I receive a monthly allowance ranging from Tz. sh. 30.00 to 50.00. The role of a representative member that I play in the village government is on voluntary basis. I am married and have four children. My eldest child received elementary grade 7 education. The remaining three are in grades 3, 6 and 7.
>
> I did not have any schooling during my childhood. I did not have it because I had to look after my parents' livestock. Second, I indulged myself in traditional dancing.

Responding to a question on when and why he enrolled in the program, the informant stated:

> I enrolled in the Functional Literacy program in 1974 at Mlowa Barabarani because I wanted to learn how to write my name. My experience in signing papers as a witness at a court of law by putting my thumb print bothered me a lot. But having learned skills in writing, I decided to enroll in the post-functional literacy program because education has no end. There are still many new things which I would like to learn. For example, arithemetic in particular motivated me to continue learning. Arithmetic is a very important subject and it can help me in my daily life if I understand subtraction, addition and division.

> . . . I am not sure in which level I fall in the post-functional literacy program. But I think I am in Level 4.

In his recapitulation of what he had learned from the program, the informant said to the researcher:

> I learned literacy skills, health science which included general cleanliness such as the importance of keeping a house and its surroundings clean daily, and boiling water for drinking in order to get rid of harmful germs. I also learned how important it is to have a balanced diet and a house with windows of about 1' x 1/2'. Further, I learned some methods in agriculture.

Responding to a question on whether or not he had sat for any National Adult Education Literacy Examinations, the informant said:

> I sat for the National Literacy Examination in 1975 but failed. In 1977 and 1983 I re-sat for the examination. But I have not received the examination results to date. . . . I do not know whether or not I passed in these examinations. We asked our teacher in the classroom about the examination results. He told us that the results were still being prepared. They will be given to us when they are ready. But when shall we get them? It is very frustrating. You sit for an examination and then you do not get any results. What does it mean?

Asked how appropriate the program was in his situation and needs, the informant claimed:

> What I learned from the program is appropriate to my own situation and needs. For example, the things I learned such as literacy skills, methods in agriculture, health and political education have been beneficial to me.

In regard to what the informant was doing with the knowledge that he had received from the program, he said:

> I am using my literacy in helping my children in some subjects which I know. I do it when they ask me to help them. For example, I help my children in reading and artihmetic in grades 1 and 2 of primary school. I also help my grade 3 child in reading but not in arithmetic. Further, I use my literacy in reading my letters and newpapers [printed in Kiswahili] such as "Uhuru," "Mzalendo" and "Kiongozi" without any problems.
>
> Since I was appointed as "Mwalimu wa Kanisa" [literally, "teacher for the Church" equivalent to a catechist] in 1981, I have been using my literacy in preaching in the Church,

> teaching students who are getting ready to be baptized and those who want to be confirmed in the church. Further, I teach two religious periods a week to Mlowa Barabarani primary school children from grades 3 to 4 at the CEC. Religious instruction at the CEC is usually provided to school children between 12:00 and 3:20 p.m.

The informant's role of a catechist was verified through the researcher's observations and informal interviews at and/or in the church. Just before Sunday service began on February 12, 1984, for example, the researcher had an informal discussion with the informant outside the church. The researcher was briefed on the sitting arrangment in the church. The researcher was asked to sit together with the preacher and his team on the altar in front of the church. He was also requested to introduce himself to the congregation and tell them what he was doing at Mlowa Barabarani. But the researcher chose to sit amongst the worshippers. Then the team comprising the informant who was the preacher, a church elder and a girl sat on the altar. The researcher recognized the girl. She was the researcher's temporary cook at Mlowa Barabarani. The researcher did not accept the suggestion that he should have sat in front of the church and introduced himself because to do that would have probably spoilt his opportunity of attending church services conducted in other church denominations in the village.

The researcher listened to the informant, the preacher. The church was full of people including some of the Mlowa Barabarani primary school teachers. In the course of his preaching, the informant made the congregation change their role from that of listeners to that of singers and vice-versa in order to emphasize a point. On that day, the researcher enjoyed watching and listening to the informant, the preacher.

The informant, continuing to react to the question on what he was doing with his learning, stated:

> Because of the learning I received from the program, my family is enjoying drinking boiled water. I also allow my children to eat different kinds of food stuffs so that they have 'chakula bora' [balanced diet]. Although I was not allowed to eat, for instance, eggs and liver when I was a child, I no longer believe in such taboos of the old traditions. These taboos are useless. To deny children of eating "chakula bora" may result in their health being retarded.
>
> Further, by using good methods in agriculture, I harvested 100 tinfuls of millet in 1979 from my two acre farm. And because of political awareness I had from the program I am now a member in the village government. As a member in the village government, I am a chairman of both sub-committees for building and construction and village shop. [The informant's role in the village government was confirmed by the researcher during the meeting of the village government held on January 14, 1984. Although the informant did not attend the meeting, his name was referred to by various members from time to time.]

The informant, assessing his successes and/or problems he had been experiencing in applying his knowledge in the real situation, pointed out:

> Because of drought, I harvested only 10 sacks of millet in 1982/83. This was inadequate to feed my family for the whole year. We ate all what we had harvested by October, 1983. Now we have no food. I am now depending entirely on casual labour by working on some people's farms in order to get some money that I can use for buying food for my family. Moreover, my monthly allowance that I get as a catechist is not enough to maintain my family. But I have to persevere because a service rendered to a church organization does not pay much. . . . I would not say that my services that I offer to the church on voluntary basis prevent me from participating in my farming and literacy activities. The pursuit of voluntary activities is a remarkable task too. To sum up, the whole village is faced by a shortage of food this year. The cause of the shortage is the drought.
>
> Further, in the program we learned the importance of using 'mbolea ya chumvi chumvi' [fertilizers] on our farm, but these are not available. Instead we use manure that we get from livestock.

When asked to comment on how he could alleviate some of the problems he had been experiencing, the informant said:

> There is no solution to shortage of food. . . . I could perhaps alleviate this problem by expanding my acreage for cassava. I think this root crop needs just a minimal amount of rain. . . . In order to alleviate this problem for the entire village, we need to buy two or three tractors. With these tractors we can expand our communal farm and have it well cultivated.

Informant C, January 22, 1984

The informant when asked to comment briefly on 'a small house,' 'small pit,' 'kichanja,' 'traditional medicines' vs 'modern medicines,' 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM),' and the importance of including 'English subject' in the program said:

> The small houses built near the main houses in the village are latrines. After the villagers had started living in this Ujamaa Village, the village government directed that every villager had to build a latrine. During that time, most villagers had realized that they were crowded. Second, they no longer lived near bushes where they used to attend the call of nature. Further, we had learned in the literacy program that if we built and used latrines, we could prevent diseases from spreading in the village. So we started building latrines. The graduates of the program helped the village government in persuading the illiterates to build the latrines. Being among the graduates of the program, I participated in telling the illiterates to build latrines. They accepted this idea.
>
> In regard to small pits near our houses in the village, these are for the disposal of garbage from the houses. All the garbage must be put into these pits and then burned. If all the rubbish or garbage were scattered all over the village, they could be a source of disease.
>
> Coming to a 'kichanja' which can be seen outside each house in the village, is used for putting on dishes after washing them up. When the dishes get dry, they are re-used or put into the houses. To keep wet dishes in the house would not only spoil them, but they could become a source of spreading diseases.
>
> My views on modern medicines vs traditional medicines are that if I fell sick, I would go to a hospital for treatment. If I would not get well after treatment, I would then ask the hospital authority to refer me to a hospital with more facilities than the first one for further treatment. Should I not be cured, I would come back home and wait for God's decision or try traditional medicine. Although some traditional medicines can cure some diseases, they are not as good as those given by

> hospitals. . . . In case my livestock is attacked by diseases, I would ask a veterinary officer to come and treat the animals. There are no traditional medicines for livestock except for millet. For instance, when we fail to get medicines [or insecticide such as 'actelic 2 per cent'] for preservation of our millet, we put traditional medicines called 'mkunghuni in kigogo' into a 'kilindo' [a container used for grain storage by individual villagers]. The medicine is safe and unpoisonous. It can protect millet grains from being destroyed by insects. Last year I used it and the grains were not attacked by the insects at all. Many people in our village are still using 'mkunghuni' for preservation of cereals. This kind of medicine is obtained from a local tree called 'mkunghuni.'
>
> [The informant's frequent visits to Mvumi hospital for medical examination and/or getting medicine were noted by the researcher during the research period.]
>
> . . . To me, CCM or 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' is a party of CCM . . . or a party of peasants . . . or a party of peasants and workers . . . or a party of the government . . . or—
> [In his attempt to describe CCM, the informant kept changing his answers.]
>
> . . . As far as English is concerned, I have not been taught this subject. I wonder why our teachers have not taught us this subject. I believe English is a useful language. If I got some medicines, for example with instructions written in English, I would have to ask someone to read the instructions for me because I do not know the language. I would only understand the usage and the required amount of the medicines after somebody had read the instructions for me. Because I have not been taught this subject, I feel I lack something in my life.

Informant C, March 8, 1984

On February 8, 1984, the researcher met the informant C at the CEC. The informant told the researcher that he had gone there to hire a tractor so that it could cultivate on his private farm at Tanzanian shs. 250.00 an acre. The next formal interview was scheduled for February 17, 1984. However, the informant went to Mvumi hospital for medical treatment before the scheduled interview was conducted. The researcher visited him on February 22, 1984 and found him sitting ouside his house reading a bible. When the researcher was having a brief conversation with him, the informant's wife brought him (the informant) some medicines (tablets) with some water. The informant took the medicine. Then March 8, 1984 was set as the new date for the next interview. On March 8, 1984 the researcher met the informant at the CEC in the afternoon. The informant told him that he had gone there to give religious instruction to the primary school children. However, the informant reminded the researcher that he would go for the scheduled formal interview after religious instruction classes.

The formal interview was conducted at the researcher's office on March 8, 1984. Expressing how the post-functional literacy program had helped him in changing his social relationships with various social groups, the informant said:

> Before I joined the program, my relationship with my family was not very good. For example, I did not bother about my children's progress in school. When they returned home from school, I did not care to examine their school work as I am doing to-day. . . . But my relationship with my relatives has been good throughout. When I need some millet seeds, for instance, they give me free of charge. I also give them some when they are in need. My relationship with my religious leaders has been good too. They like me as I do. We exchange visits and they have sometimes helped me in my private work such as building a house.
>
> However, our social distance between government leaders as well as literates and I was great when I was still illiterate. I feared government leaders and literates. I always thought that if I associated with them, they would have tricked me, imprisoned me, and they would have perhaps caused bodily sufferings to me. I no longer fear them. These fears were baseless. If they try to trick me, I shall soon find out that they are playing a trick on me because I am now literate.
>
> Since I am literate, some of my friends seem to be afraid of me. They have stopped visiting me regularly. But I still do. . . . They claim that they do not visit me because they are very busy throughout the year.

Giving an account on his participation in cultural activities, the informant said:

> I still participate in some of our cultural activities. But I am always cautious about how I should participate in them.

> For example, I would like my boy to be circumcised because it is our custom. However, what is taught to circumcised boys by traditional old men is useless. The kind of teaching provided to these young men is full of abusive language. I would not like such teaching I received during circumcision to be continued.
>
> . . . After the boys have been circumcised, they are kept away from their families until they get well. During that period they are under the care of old men whose task is simply to eat food. A parent whose boy has been circumcised may use up to eight sacks of millet for feeding him, the men and for a feast and liquour for a circumcision ceremony. It is possible that after the celebration, the parent could find that there is no food left in the house. The celebration is costly. It would be better for the parents to discontinue such celebration[s]. . . . I have a boy, I think when time comes to have him circumcised, I shall let him go to a hospital for circumcision. When he comes back home from the hospital, I shall remain quiet. I shall not tell anybody about it. The money that I would have spent on food for a celebration would be used probably for buying a shirt and a pair of shoes for my boy. I shall try to avoid these expenses. I have seen how some parents incur costs for such celebrations and later on experience hardships. I shall avoid them.
>
> . . . We have not discussed anything in our program concerning how to reduce costs for celebrations for circumcision. As has already been said, if I want to have my boy circumcised, I shall let him go to the hospital. By so doing, I shall not lose anything. If my relatives ask me why I have had my boy circumcised in a hospital and have had no ceremony, I shall tell them the truth that I am unable to meet the costs of feeding many men taking care of my boy for a whole month.
>
> In regard to costs involved in celebrating a girl's reaching puberty age, a parent may use up to one sack of millet for celebration. Furthermore, after the villagers have harvested their crops, they usually celebrate. But after harvesting my crops, I just celebrate with my family in order to thank God that we have been alive for the whole year. Food is prepared, and we eat. I do not celebrate with other people with traditional dances and liquour.

Informant C, March 14, 1984

By March 9, 1984, the researcher had conducted six formal interviews with informant D. A semi-structured questionnaire based on the questions administered to the informant D was adapted and administered to the informant C. So the interview conducted by the researcher with the informant C on March 14, 1984 was comprehensive and included questions for interviews IV to VI.

When the informant C was asked to give an account on how he became a member of the village government and what were his aspirations, he stated:

> I decided to contest for a membership position in the village government on my own so that we could help one another in building socialism. I was not influenced by anybody to do so. In future, I may contest for a post of branch secretary and probably for the chairmanship position in the village. I am not aspiring for any leadership position higher than these because I am now old.

The informant responding to the researcher's question on whether or not he hired the village tractor and cultivated on his private farm, said:

> I hired the tractor on February 20, 1984 and cultivated two acres on 'mbuga plains' [or "Black Cotton Soils"]. Then I planted the type of maize that takes about a month to mature and serena millet.

Asked how many acres he had planted, cultivated, and weeded on his private farm during the 1983/84 rain season, the informant pointed out:

> I planted three acres on my private farm adjacent to the village millet communal farm. Out of the three acres, I have cultivated and weeded one acre only. Total number of acres cultivated and weeded this year is two on my private farms. One acre on the farm adjacent to the millet communal farm or 'bega kwa bega farms' [or on the block farms] and the second one is on my private farm. I also planted, cultivated, and weeded one acre of groundnuts and 1/2 acre cassava on my private farm. I did not plant any other kind of crops because I had no seeds. For example, sunflower seeds were not sold to us. We were told by the village leaders that these were going to be planted on the village communal farm.

For his 1983/84 harvest from his private farms, the informant projected:

> I expect to harvest three sacks of millet for the 1983/84 season which is inadequate for my family's food. I hope to harvest two or four sacks of groundnuts. So we shall be eating these food stuffs. We shall get new ideas in future. . . . If I sell groundnuts with husks, I think I shall get Tz. shs. 500.00 per sack. And a tinful of groundnuts with husks is sold at Tz. shs. 100.00.

Asked to recall the acreage he cultivated and what he harvested in 1982/83, the informant said:

> In 1982/83 season, I cultivated and weeded six acres of millet. I harvested 10 sacks of millet only which were not enough for food. From one acre of groundnuts, I harvested three sacks only. . . . We did not sell the groundnuts. We ate all the groundnuts because after I had been medically examined at Mvumi Hospital, I was found to be having tuberculosis. I was admitted at the hopsital and I was advised to eat groundnuts. . . . Yes, I was treated and got cured from the disease. I also cultivated 1/4 acre of cassava. Unfortunately I did not harvest anything because some people stole all the cassava crop.

When asked to give a brief account on how the learning (or the content) for the program was planned, the informant said:

> We were not asked to participate in planning the learning for the program. Had we been asked to participate in planning the learning, I would have suggested to the people concerned to include the teaching of English. Even if I just learned greetings in English, that would be enough. I would have also asked them to put emphasis on the teaching of arithmetic and reading.
>
> . . . One bad thing in the program is that the duration for theoretical season is short. It would be better to have the duration for this season increased.

Giving an account on the kind of learning activities they had both inside and outside the classroom, the informant stated:

> We did not do any activities outside the classroom. We were just studying and doing some written exercises. But some teachers who were teaching us were going very fast. . . . We did not have any discussions.
>
> . . . For example, arithmetic is a very difficult subject. If the teacher is teaching it very fast, I cannot understand. If he goes slowly, I shall understand him. When we asked these teachers to go slowly, they accepted our request and they began teaching slowly.

> . . . We experienced another problem in the classroom. Some women came to the class with their babies. These babies made noises in the classroom. Even the women themselves were unable to learn. . . . In my opinion, I think that women should have a classroom of their own.

When asked what he thought about the furniture he had been using at the CEC, the informant responded:

> The desks are good but they are unsuitable for adults. The chairs are also unsuitable because they are too low. As such they make the adults to restrain their backs.

Commenting on the functions of a library at the CEC, the informant stated:

> The library at the CEC is a place where books are kept. There is a literacy teacher who writes down the names of all the pupils who borrow books from the library. . . . I borrow books from the library. Every time I borrow books my name is written down. But I have not borrowed any books from the library this year. And I do not have any literacy books at home.

The informant C was admitted to Mvumi Mission Hospital before the next formal interview was arranged. He was admitted there for further medical examination and treatment. The researcher met him on May 1, 1984 after he had been discharged from the hospital. He looked weak and weary. He told the researcher that his condition had been described by the hospital authorities as anemic and that he had been advised to eat a lot of eggs and other food stuffs. In the interest of the informant's health, the researcher decided not to make any further formal interview appointments with him.

Informant D, January 18, 1984

The researcher had two informal interviews with informant D before conducting a formal one on January 18, 1984. During the interview, the informant was asked to give a brief account of her life history.

This is what she said:

> I was born in this village. I do not know the exact date of my birth. But I think I am about 49 years old. I am a peasant-farmer, a cell leader and a chairperson of a literacy class committee. As a cell leader, I work on a voluntary basis.
>
> I did not receive any formal education during my childhood. My father did not let me go to school because I had to look after livestock.
>
> I am married. My husband is married to two other ladies who are senior to me. I had four children but one of them died. The remaining three are daughters. Two of them received primary education up to grade 7. Unfortunately, the third girl could not have any formal schooling because she had to look after our livestock. All my daughters are married and I have five grandchildren. One of my grandchildren who has not begun schooling lives with me.

Responding to a question on when and why she enrolled in the program, the informant stated:

> I enrolled in a literacy program which was being conducted under a tree in 1958. My enrollment was done just a year before I got married. I participated in the program for three months and then withdrew from it. In 1966 I re-enrolled in the program. Then I withdrew from the program for a year before I re-enrolled for the third time. Since then, I have continued my participation in the program to date.
>
> . . . The purpose of joining the program was to enable me to know and understand what was in the program. I was not influenced by anybody to join the program. Later on I was elected cell leader. As a cell leader I decided to continue learning in order to know writing. The writing skills will enable me to write names of the people under my leadership and send them to the branch office of 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' (CCM) when I am asked to do so. . . . If I am not re-elected as a cell leader, my participation in the program as a pupil will continue for my own benefit. I am in Level 4 of the post-functional literacy program.

Asked to recall what she had learned from the program, the informant narrated:

> From the program I have gained reading skills which are useful to me. For instance, if I received a registered letter from a distant friend, I would use these skills. I would read and understand the letter and probably know how much money was enclosed therein. If I did not have the reading skills, I would have to ask somebody else to read the letter for me. By so doing, that person would know all my secrets. Such an act

> would not be good. If a secret belongs to an individual, it should be kept by that person only. I also learned the importance of eating balanced diet. For example, the foodstuffs which build the body such as eggs, meat, milk and beans. Political education is among the subjects I learned from the program.

When asked to comment on a question regarding whether or not she had sat for any National Adult Education Literacy Examinations, the informant claimed:

> I sat for a literacy examination in 1958 and obtained a certificate. . . . Unfortunately, the certificate is lost because it is a long time since it was given to me. I have not sat for any literacy examination since 1958. When literacy examinations were conducted in 1981 and 1983, I was at Mvumi Hospital taking care of my daughter who had given birth to children.

Responding to a question concerning how appropriate the program was in her situation and needs, the informant said:

> From the program I learned, for example, livestock rearing. I also learned political education which has helped me in participating in political activities. And I learned the importance of eating a balanced diet. I think all these things which I learned are related to our environment.

Reacting to a question on what she was doing with what she had learned from the program, she stated:

> Although I am still unable to write my personal letters, I can write my first name. Reading is not a problem to me. I use my literacy in reading my bible and all various literacy text books.
>
> . . . During my childhood, for example, my parents did not allow me to eat eggs. It was believed that if a child ate them, that child would experience problems after circumcision. It was also believed that if a child ate liver, that child's stomach would swell up. Further, eating a heart of animal was believed to be the cause of a child's heart problems. The child's heart would be beating very fast every day. After I have been a pupil of the program, I let my children eat these foodstuffs every day. These taboos are meaningless.
>
> As has already been said, political education is helping me in my participation in political activities. As a cell leader, I collect contributions from my ten houses and get them to the CCM branch office. The money collected as contributions is sometimes used for buying food or goats or cattle for our official

> guests. I also attend village meetings in which sometimes without fear, I tell the branch secretary to reduce the rate for contributions. I am sympathetic to the people who make these contributions. Further, I participate in village government elections. Usually, I vote for someone who has the ability to do a good job and bring development. I do not vote for the person's appearance.
>
> Furthermore, after the village government had directed that everyone must plant crops in rows, I learned how to do it. In 1981, I planted millet on a four acre farm in rows and weeded 'kitaalam' [expertly]. I harvested 24 sacks of millet. By planting millet in rows and weeding the plants, truly, you get good harvest. Planting millet in rows is more beneficial than planting it anyhow. The harvest I had in 1984 was adequate for food. We sold part of it and bought a cow and three goats. This brought the number of cattle we purchased to seven.

In her assessment of her successes and/or problems she had in using her knowledge in real situation, the informant pointed out:

> I am still unable to write. Writing gives me a big problem. Our teachers know how to teach, yet I still do not know writing. . . . I think my head is bad. . . . I mean, my mental ability is not good.
>
> In regard to agricultural activities, during the 1982/83 rainy season, we had a drought. All the millet plants withered. I harvested three sacks of millet only from a five acre farm. Three sacks of millet was very little. I finished eating all the millet by February 28, 1984. Now I am wandering about. The entire village has a shortage of food.
>
> Further we have had a total of 20 heads of cattle made up of seven heads we purchased and 13 heads brought to us as marriage settlement by bridegrooms married to our daughters. Due to lack of adequate grass for grazing here, we keep all the cattle, goats and sheep in a distant forest for grazing throughout the year. My husband lives there most of the time. However, 11 heads of cattle, all goats and sheep died in the forest because of the drought.
>
> Another problem is related to inability in putting manure on my farm. While I can put some manure from livestock on my small farms nearby, I am unable to do so on my farm on 'mbuga nyeusi' [literally means 'black plains,' meaning 'mbuga soils' or 'Black Cotton Soils']. It is too far away from here. I am unable to carry the manure on my shoulder and get it to the farm. I could probably do it by hiring a truck. At present, the farm is still fertile and it does not need any manure. I think the type of soil on this farm is unsuitable for putting manure.
>
> I also learned from the village government that it was important that we planted trees around our houses. We were

> told that trees helped to preserve moisture in the soil and to bring rain. Without trees clouds can be blown away by the wind. So the village government asked us to plant at least ten trees around each house in the village. I planted ten trees in 1982 around my house. But some unknown children in this village played with the trees. Later on all the trees died. This year, each villager was asked to prepare ten holes for planting trees around the house. Unfortunately, the village government has been unable to bring us the seedlings. This is a big problem.

When the informant was asked to comment on how she could alleviate some of the problems she had been experiencing, she said:

> I want to know how to write only. Although I want to make efforts in reading . . . I shall try to learn writing until I know how to do it well.
>
> In regard to shortage of food, I ask myself 'what should I do in order to eliminate it?' I can eliminate it by working hard in agricultural activities and by applying my knowledge. When drought occurs, I must sell something such as a head of cattle so that I buy food. If there is no food and there is nothing for sale, I shall die. I think, I must also plant 1/2 acre or an acre of cassava in case drought occurs.
>
> As far as the problem of shortage of grass for grazing livestock is concerned, I cannot plant grass because it is God who plants it. . . . Unfortunately we have not learned anything from the program concerning the importance of planting grass for grazing.
>
> When there is no more fertility on the farm I must find somewhere else in a forest where the soil will accept manure. It will not matter how far the new farm is going to be. Then I shall clear the forest. After that I shall either hire a tractor or a truck to get manure to the new farm. . . . Although we learned from the program the disadvantages of shifting cultivation, I shall have to find a new farm when I realize that the present one has become infertile.
>
> . . . I understand that if you continue to cut trees, you will receive less and less rain. But if I need a new farm, I must cut trees.

Informant D, February 8, 1984

After the formal interview conducted in January 18, 1984 with the informant D, the next one did not take place as scheduled for January 22, 1984. The informant who had paid a visit to her relatives living in a distant village arrived with her luggage on her head at the place of interview (her home) looking exhausted. The researcher who had been waiting for her for sometime outside her house agreed with her to postpone the interview.

The researcher visited the informant D on February 5, 1984. But he found that the informant had gone to participate in her uncle's daughter's puberty celebration. The researcher went to her uncle's home and found her there. He briefly talked to her and her uncle. Then both the informant and the researcher agreed to have a formal interview on February 8, 1984. The researcher drank some liquor and tape recorded some of the traditional dancers' songs. The researcher learned that such celebrations were exclusively for women and he left for his lodging.

When the formal interview began on February 8, 1984, the informant was asked to comment briefly on 'a small house,' 'small pit,' 'kichanja,' 'traditional medicines' vs 'modern medicines,' 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM),' the importance of including English in the program, 'clean water for drinking,' and the 'importance of oxen ploughs.' She stated:

> The small house you see over there is a latrine. It helps to prevent diseases from spreading. Before I moved into this Ujamaa village in 1971, I had no latrine. During that time we still had big forest nearby. One could easily walk into it and attend call of nature. To have a latrine nowadays is a must. I built mine after I had moved into this village.
>
> I have a small pit which I use for throwing garbage from my house into. Dirt is the source of diseases. Flies usually carry diseases from neighbouring houses and bring them here. When children drink water, for example, they get the diseases. So I want the flies that bring dirt to stay there into the pit.
>
> A 'kichanja' is something used for putting dishes on after they have been washed up. When the dishes get dry, they are put into the house. This also helps to prevent diseases from spreading.
>
> If I fell sick I would go to a hospital for treatment

because the medicines given by hospitals are better than traditional ones. If I did not get cured but got discharged from the hospital and been advised to try traditional medicines, I would do so. But I would not go straight away to see a traditional doctor.

In case my livestock had diseases, I would go and explain the problem to a veterinary officer. Then the expert could come and treat them. For example, at one time my livestock had problems. When I told him he came and treated them. I paid him some money only for the medicines he used for treating them.

If some insects began destroying my millet cereals, I would go to the town and buy some medicines. I would put the medicine into a 'kilindo' and the insects would go away without delay. If I could not get the medicine from the shops, I would use traditional medicine called 'mkunghuni.'

In regard to 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM),' this is a party of the government. [After further questioning] . . . it is a political party. . . .

We have not been taught English. I would like to be taught English so that I know it. If somebody walks past me and back-bites me in English, I would like to understand what that person is talking about.

Clean water for drinking is the water that has been obtained from a water tap and boiled before drinking. If you drink water without boiling it, there is a danger of drinking dirt. It is also dangerous to drink unboiled water especially when one remembers our enemy who came here last year. This enemy is called 'kipindupindu' [cholera]. Seven people died of cholera. . . . To say the truth, I did not boil water for drinking to-day. Since the enemy has gone away and he is far away from us, I have stopped boiling water for drinking. I have just ignored. . . . I think I shall resume boiling it before drinking because it is dangerous to drink unboiled water.

. . . People have not started using oxen ploughs for cultivation in this village because ploughs are not available. Second, it may be that people have not begun using them for cultivation lest they are considered as being cruel to their cattle. Usually, each person who has cattle sells one every year. The money is used for hiring a tractor to cultivate on a private farm. . . . They do this because of their ignorance.

Informant D, February 12, 1984

The third formal interview with the informant D was conducted by the researcher on February 12, 1984.

When the informant was asked if the program had helped her in changing her social relationships with different social groups, she pointed out:

> My relationship with various people prior and after I had enrolled in the program has been good throughout. I have had no problem in relating with them. We have been exchanging visits frequently. Whenever my relatives, for example, are sick or they have problems, I visit them. They visit me too.
>
> . . . The fact that I am now literate does not make them fear me. Because they like me, they also give me some seeds free of charge. Sometimes when they need seeds, I also give them free of charge.

Responding to a question on her participation in cultural activities, the informant stated:

> There has been no change in my participation in cultural activities prior and after I had enrolled in the program. For example, I have been participating in girls' puberty celebrations throughout my life. I believe that what the girls learn from old ladies during these celebrations is profitable. I should like such learning to be continued. . . . It is important that girls' puberty celebrations are carried out because if we do not observe them, our neighbours will be puzzled when they see a girl becomes pregnant. They will raise questions, 'How come a small child is pregnant before reaching puberty?'
>
> However, these celebrations sometimes can be costly. For instance, a person may use from one to five sacks of millet for celebrations. . . . During my uncle's daughter's puberty celebrations on February 5, 1984, I contributed Tz. shs. 50.00, one tinful of millet flour, two pots of vegetables and fire wood. My friends contributed one tinful of millet flour. My uncle provided buttermilk, vegetables and liquour. . . . As has been said, what is taught to the girls is good, but, I think the costs for these celebrations should be reduced. A person could probably use one or two tinfuls of millet flour. We do not have enough food.
>
> I also participate in celebrations for girls' circumcision. We continue letting girls be circumcised lest they experience problems as mothers when giving births to babies.
>
> . . . We discussed in our class concerning the importance of children's circumcision and the girls' puberty celebrations and the costs involved. . . . I introduced this topic to the class for discussion. I was implementing our branch chairman's directive that we as leaders should stop people from having these celebrations. The chairman had told us that he had seen one house in the village which was full of people who were having such celebrations. The chairman argued that such celebrations delayed people from doing their economic activities and were contributing to the shortage of food. I told my colleagues in the class that if people wanted to have their children

> circumcised, they should take care of their children after circumcision in their own homes until they recovered. For example, a person should cook food and eat it and then give some to the circumcised child. Further, only a male parent and the boy's uncle, for example, should take care of the circumcised boy.
>
> . . . Usually, between 10 and 30 men take care of a circumcised boy or two boys only. As a mother whose boy is circumcised, I have to cook food at least three times at noon by using a very large cooking pot. Then I get the food to a camp where the circumcised boys and a group of men live for about 30 days. In the evening, I do the same. I must continue doing this every day for 30 days. An individual may use up to four sacks of millet. After 30 days in the camp, about two drums of liquour are prepared for guests to drink. Sometimes three or four heads of cattle are slaughtered at the circumcised boy's home for a big celebration.
>
> . . . As you know, during these years, agriculture does not give us enough food. A person who has harvested three sacks of millet will finish all the food for these celebrations. That person will have a shortage of food while the colleagues will have preserved theirs. . . . My colleagues in the class supported my viewpoints.
>
> . . . However, I have stopped participating in thanksgiving to gods. For example, there is no need praying for rain under a tree because rain is brought by God. . . . Even if God will bring rain to our village, we shall continue planting trees around our houses. Many trees should be planted in the village and God will bring us rain.

Informant D, February 19, 1984

When asked to give an account on what were her aspirations in political participation, the informant said:

> I have been a cell leader for sometime now. My duties as a cell leader do not interfere with my agricultural activities as well as other activities. I expect to contest for this position in future. I would like to understand how to run a government. . . . Yes, I would also like to contest for other higher positions in the government. Why should I remain in a low position? I would like to become a branch chairman or a secretary. I very much like activities involving the running of a government for the purpose of bringing development. Further, I would like to contest for leadership positions at the District, Regional and National levels. I want to become a big person. As such, I shall be able to visit all countries.

Responding to a question on the number of acres she had planted, cultivated and weeded on her private farm during the 1983/84 rain season, the informant claimed:

> During the 1983/84 rain season, I planted a total of 9 1/2 acres of millet on my private farms. These include three acres planted on my private farm adjacent to the village millet communal farm. Out of these acres, I have cultivated one acre only. There is too much water on that farm. I do not think that I shall be able to cultivate the remaining two acres.
>
> . . . At the moment, I am busy weeding the one acre which I have already cultivated. On the other millet private farm, I have cultivated and weeded 1 1/2 acres. I tried to hire a casual labourer for sometime, the person cultivated very little as I showed you on my farm. However, I still paid him a lot of money.

Making rough projections for her 1983/84 harvest from her private farms, the informant estimated:

> From about 2 1/2 acres of millet, I expect to harvest five sacks only. This will be enough for food until February, 1985. I think I must get something for sale so that I can buy food by May, 1984. If I do not buy food . . . I mean millet by May, 1984, later on it will be expensive.
>
> I expect to get about six or seven sacks of groundnuts with husks or 3 1/2 sacks of groundnuts without husks. A sack of groundnuts without husks sells at Tz. shs. 800.00 or Tz. shs. 900.00.

Informant D, March 9, 1984

Responding to a question on how the learning (or content) for the program was planned, the informant said:

> In planning of what we would like to be included in the program, our teacher asked the class to give suggestions. We told the teacher that we wanted to learn carving and pottery. The teacher accepted our suggestions. We made a few items for domestic purposes and sold them for Tz. shs. 80.00. We gave the money to our classmate who fell sick and had to go to Dodoma Hospital for treatment.
>
> . . . The idea of giving pupils an opportunity to participate in planning what should be included in the program is a very good one. I would like it to be continued.

Commenting on the kind of learning activities they had both inside and outside the classroom, the informant stated:

> In the past, our literacy class was being conducted in our nearby church. However, it was discovered that some pupils were spitting saliva with tobacco in the church. We were then stopped from using the church. We began learning outside the church. Our class prefers to study here because it is near our homes. We do not want to go and study at the CEC's buildings. Primary school teachers from the CEC come here sometimes to help our literacy teacher who is a primary school graduate.
>
> . . . During our previous theoretical season we did not have any learning activities outside the classroom such as demonstration plots. Most of our learning activities were related to reading. Our teacher taught us reading only. The teacher told us that we should know reading first before we could begin learning writing. We learned nothing but reading. Sometimes the teacher wrote some words on the blackboard for us to read. Sometimes we read books. We were able to finish reading two books during the season.
>
> One problem we had was that there were 10 male pupils in our class. I am not in favour of studying in the same class with men. People have many different personal problems. . . . In short, there are many problems, it is not good to name them. It would be better for men and women to study separately. . . . I told our teacher about this problem on behalf of my fellow women in the class. The women asked me to tell the teacher about it. But in his reply the teacher said that the number of teachers was limited. As such, it was not possible to let us study separately.
>
> However, our class attendance was not very good. We had two pupils fined Tz. shs. 35.00 each under the class 'udoba' by-laws for not attending classes. The class collected a total of Tz. shs. 70.00. We used this money for buying exercise books. The exercise books were distributed to all the pupils in the class including those who had paid the fines. Further, some men went to the forest to look after their livestock. Others went to Dodoma to search for casual employment during the dry season.

Informant D, March 12, 1984

Responding to a question on how they used the exercise books given to them in the class, the informant said:

> Those exercise books given to us in the class were used for individual writing practices. I received one exercise book and used only a page for writing practices during the theoretical season. After the theoretical season, we used the exercise book for government business. For example, I removed the page that I had written from the exercise book. Then I gave the remaining pages to the head of our ward. We used the papers for writing names of people in the ward for village economic activities schedules. . . . I do not know where I have thrown the paper that

> I had used for writing practices. I wish I had it here with me. I would have shown it to you.

When asked to comment on the literacy text books she had been reading in the program, the informant pointed out:

> The books are good. The explanations in these books are also good. I have many literacy books in my house—a heap. We used most of these books for our literacy class the year before last year. I have been taking care of these books on behalf of the class since then. The books that we used last year were taken by our teacher.
>
> . . . I like all these books because I find them to be very beneficial. For example, this book you see here titled 'Ufugaji Bora' [Good Animal Husbandry] is very beneficial. I learn reading and at the same time I learn good animal rearing so that I can raise livestock. 'Afya' [Health] is also a very good book and it is very beneficial. 'Mwanamalundi' [a story about a person called 'Mwanamalundi' who is a 'Sukuma' by ethnic origin] is also a very good book. I like reading it so that I understand that ethnic group and what it does. Further, 'Katiba ya CCM' ["Chama Cha Mapinduzi's Constitution] is a very good book because it is about 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' and the government. It is worthwhile for people to read and understand it so that they become real members of the party. If I read and understand it, when I have a problem, I go to CCM office and ask for help. They will help me. For example, if I have been deprived of my rights, I shall report it to my member of the village government. But if I find that no action is taken, I shall report to CCM office so that I may get assistance immediately. Then the 'Bible,' this helps me spiritually. I know God created the land, the people, water and all the things on the land.

Giving an account on the furniture she had been using at the CEC or at the church during the theoretical season, the informant said:

> During the theoretical season, our class was conducted outside the church as has already been said. We used to get some chairs from the church and return them into the church after the class. These chairs were good.
>
> But when I was learning Geography and History at the CEC in 1983, I used desks and chairs which I think were unsuitable for adults. . . . Yes, I learned these subjects just by listening to the teacher. As an adult, you have to sit obliquely because there is not room enough to enable you to get your knees through between the desk and the chair. The chairs are only suitable for children and not for adults.

Informant D, March 19, 1984

When she was aksed to give constructive suggestions in general that could help to improve the post-functional literacy program, this is what the informant had to say:

> I would like the program to put emphasis on the teaching of agriculture. Although other subjects are equally important, emphasis should be put on this subject which is very beneficial . . .
>
> I would also like to see the pupils of the program have a garden. We could grow tomatoes, spinach and beans . . . on the garden during the dry season by using irrigation. Water for this purpose is plenty. We could get it from our water tap. We could also learn pottery and make pots. Instead of depending on buying expensive utensils from shops, we could use our own pots which are inexpensive and they do not break easily. We could sell some of the produce from the garden and the pots from the pottery. Then we could use that money for buying sewing machines. We could use part of the money for paying our teacher's honorarium.
>
> Further, our theoretical season usually begins towards the end of July and ends on October 12. This period is inadequate. I suggest that the theoretical season should start from May to October.

Asked to comment if the learning she had was new and worthwhile to her, the informant pointed out:

> What I learned from the program was new to me. I did not waste my time by attending literacy classes. In my opinion I feel that the learning I had has been worthwhile. My life is now better than prior to my enrollment in the program. . . . Before I was able to read, I behaved like a small child. Everything looked fine to me while it was in the actual fact not so. . . . For example, before I became a pupil of the program, I used to drink liquour and become high. I insulted people and sometimes walked across thorns. Nowadays when I feel I have drunk enough liquor, I come back home and sleep. As such, I find life to be very good. The program has taught me many experiences about good life.

Responding to a question on what her expectations were after achieving Level VI in the post-functional literacy program, the informant said:

> After achieving Level VI in the program, I do not expect to be employed. Even if I get some employment in an office, I shall not forget agricultural activities. . . . If an individual is not allowed to be both an employee and a peasant farmer at the same time, I would like to opt to continue with my agricultural activities. To get an employment is just like winning a lottery. Especially for people like ourselves who have studied under trees. Frankly speaking, to be employed in an office is only a matter of luck. You have to study first up to grade 7 or 12 and get a Certificate. But if I get a literacy certificate, it is only good to have it here. There is no need for me to go with it to distant places, here and there searching for employment. My expectations are just to get the knowledge from the program that will help me in agriculture.

Asked to react to a question whether or not she would have planted trees around her house, millet in rows and would have had a latrine had the village government not directed every villager to do so, the informant said that she would not have done these things.

Responding to a question on what the situation was prior to cholera outbreak regarding the pits for garbage disposal, use of 'kichanja' and her habit of drinking boiled water, the informant said:

> Before cholera broke out, I had no pit for refuse disposal, no kichanja and I never boiled any water for drinking.

Reacting to a question on whether or not she had continued using the garbage pit, the 'kichanja' and boiled water for drinking after cholera had been wiped out in the village, the respondent pointed out:

> I have continued using the refuse pit [but there was very little sign to show that it was being used]. I have also continued using 'kichanja' and boiled water for drinking. For example, the water I am drinking today was boiled yesterday. I boil water for drinking every other two days.

When the informant was asked if she had any questions, she said to the researcher:

> You have come here, you have seen our classes have no exercise books, no pens. We request you if you have any assistance out there, you help us. I have not got any other question.

Then the informant was given an informal test by the researcher. In this test, there was no pass or fail. The purpose was to test the informant in literacy skills which included reading, writing and arithmetic. First she was asked to read a paragraph from a book of her own choice. She chose and read a paragraph from the Bible. She read the paragraph aloud and it was tape recorded. Second, she was asked to write her full name and the researcher's full name. This was what she said:

> Should I write my name here? Oh! . . . I cannot write my father's name. This teacher [researcher] is troublesome. Oh! Today you are a bad man. This is an examination . . . I can write 'Daudi' [she actually wrote 'dadi']. But I cannot write 'Kinshaga.' Write it yourself . . . no, write your name first so that I can see it and copy it. 'Ndugu' [comrade], I am still a pupil. Truly, I am a pupil.

After this, the researcher asked the informant to do simple sums for him involving subtaction, division, multiplication and addition (Appendix M). When she was doing the test, she went on talking aloud and she was tape recorded. This was what she was saying:

> Here, two hundred . . . I do here one hundred ninety nine. Then the second question, here three hundred and thirty . . . you tell me, oh! Three hundred minus one hundred. Now how do I do it. . . . To subtract, oh! to subtract. Let me just tell you instead of writing down the answers. Should I write? . . . I shall get them all wrong. Let me confess . . . I can do them by just telling you . . . let me tell you. Take two hundred and subtact one, the answer is nine hundred ninety. Second, question, three hundred minus one, you see . . . we have not been taught . . . The third one, one hundred; is this subtraction or addition . . .; here seventeen subtract four, the answer is thirty three. We have not been taught.

Informant E, February 7, 1984

The researcher had three informal interviews with informant E before having a formal one. The first one was in December, 1983.

The second interview was held on a Sunday afternoon on January 15, 1984 on the informant's private farm. At the time of the interview, the informant was busy working on his farm. The researcher got the informant's hoe and gave him a hand in weeding the millet for about ten minutes or so. During the discussion, a formal interview was scheduled for January 20, 1984. Unfortunately the informant could not keep the appointment. The researcher had a third informal interview with the informant on January 21, 1984. During the interview, the informant told the researcher that he could not turn up on January 20, 1984 for the formal interview because he had to do some weeding on his private farm. The informant pointed out that there was too much grass on his farm. As such, he even asked his primary school grade 3 boy not to attend school on that day. The boy joined him and both of them did some weeding on their private farm. His wife was pregnant at that time and she could not work on the farm. After a brief discussion, the first tape recorded formal interview was rescheduled for February 7, 1984.

To begin with, the informant was asked to give a brief account of his life history. Responding to this question, the informant said:

> I was born in this village in 1920. I am a peasant-farmer, a catechist since 1956 and a cell leader since 1976 to date. I have also worked as a voluntary literacy teacher from 1976 to 1977. I conducted my class under a tree. Farming is my main occupation. As a catechist, I get an allowance and not a salary. The money I receive as a catechist is just a token and it is not paid monthly.
>
> . . . I married in 1966. I would have had five children now, but one of them died. My eldest child attends Mlowa Barabarani Primary School. The rest have not reached school going age. At this age of 64 years, I am blaming myself for not receiving education during my childhood. I expect my children to continue with schooling so that they may perhaps receive education.

> . . . When I was a child, I went to school at the age of 15 years. Because of youthful behaviour, I left school after completing grade 2 of primary school. In 1943 I went to Dodoma. In the same year I went to Dar-es-Salaam where I worked for some time. Then I went to Kilimanjaro Region where I worked for many years before returning to Mlowa Barabarani in 1966.

When responding to a question on when and why he enrolled in the program, the informant stated:

> I enrolled in the literacy program in 1966 before the establishment of Mlowa Barabarani Ujamaa village. After the village had been established, I re-enrolled in the functional literacy program in 1976. I decided to join the program as a pupil because I wanted to get more knowledge rather than remaining in darkness. For example, I wanted to learn reading and writing and get more education than to be contented with basic education. Further, I also wanted to learn more about things concerning good agriculture. I know that by using good agricultural methods, I can get enough food for my family. As such, the whole family can benefit and you alleviate problems of food shortages in your family. . . . It is in the interest of my family that I should continue learning more and more.
>
> During the previous theoretical season, I was in Level IV of the post-functional literacy program.

Reacting to a question on what he had learned from the program, the informant said:

> From the program, I learned Kiswahili, writing, arithmetic and political education. I also learned the importance of eating a balanced diet. . . . For example, a balanced diet includes foodstuffs such as groundnuts, eggs, milk, beans, fish, meat, pawpaws, oranges and lemons . . .. I also learned general cleanliness such as the importance of drinking clean boiled water, having pits for garbage, 'kichanja,' planting millet in rows and planting trees where there are none. For example, I have some books concerning planting of trees and how to grow them. I have read these books.

When asked to comment on a question regarding whether or not he had sat for any National Adult Education Literacy Examinations, the informant claimed:

> I sat for the examinations in 1977, 1981 and 1983. I was told that I passed in both the 1977 and 1981 examinations . . . I did not receive any literacy certificates. They told us that someone would come here and give the certificates to those who

> passed. But things have remained quiet. . . . In 1983 I sat for the examination in Kiswahili, political education and arithmetic. Although I did not understand arithmetic well, they said that I passed in that examination. Further, they said that certificates had been brought here and that we would receive them. But to date, none of us has received one. To date, we do not know where those certificates are.

Reacting to a question on how appropriate the program was to his situation and needs, the informant pointed out:

> From what I learned, I think the program was appropriate to my needs and environment. The only problem is drought which is letting down everybody here.

Responding to a question on what he was doing with what he had learned from the program, he said:

> I am using my literacy in reading books, magazines, the Bible and in writing letters. I also use literacy in teaching people who want to be baptised, young Christians who want to be confirmed in the church and I conduct church services. I give four periods religious instruction a week in grades 1 to 7 at Mlowa Barabarani Primary School.
>
> Because of the program, today I let my children eat different kinds of foodstuffs. I do not care about taboos concerning a child's eating meat or eggs. These foodstuffs build our bodies. . . . For example, I am weak because I was forbidden to eat these foodstuffs when I was a child. Because of the taboos, I was deceived by the adults who wanted to eat these foodstuffs alone. In the past a child was not allowed to eat eggs. It was believed that if the child ate them, there would be some problems immediately after the child's circumcision.

In assessing his successes and/or problems he had in applying his knowledge in real situation, the informant stated:

> As a catechist, I am teaching religious instruction at the primary school twice a week. I find that this role delays me in doing my agricultural activities. I wish I had someone to help me in this task. Because I am now old and weak, it is a problem for me to teach religious instruction and work on the communal farm, on my private farm and at the same time provide my family with other needs. For instance, this morning I had to skip one religious instruction period at school because of 'matoleo' [participation in communal activities].
>
> . . . I am poor. I have no property. After getting married, I harvested two 'vilindo' [plural of 'kilindo'] in 1967. During the 1967/68 rain season, I harvested one. I have

> been a hard working person. But I am now growing old and weak. I cannot be like a young man. As such, I have been harvesting very little crop since 1969. The droughts also contributed to the problem. After planting our millet in 1982/83, for example, the rains stopped. The millet withered [it was at a "Permanent Wilting Point"; Rweyemamu discussion, August 24, 1984]. In February, 1982, we had to replant millet. Worse still, there was a shortage of food as well as scarcity of millet seeds. Individual villagers harvested only a half of what they had expected except those who had a lot of millet seeds for replanting. Since I am weak, my participation in communal activities three days a week, namely, Monday to Wednesday, also contributes to the problem. Sometimes we work on communal farms for six days a week when there is a need to do so. . . . We have not discussed with our village leaders concerning the possibility of reducing the number of days for 'matoleo' per week. Some of my colleagues are aware of this problem, perhaps they are afraid of discussing it with the leaders.

When the informant was asked to comment on how he could alleviate some of the problems he had been experiencing, he pointed out:

> I am now making efforts to get a primary school graduate from my religious denomination to assist me in teaching religious periods at the primary school voluntarily. I have no money to pay him. Alternatively, I may ask one of the primary school teachers belonging to our denomination to help me in providing primary school children with religious instruction on voluntary basis.
>
> . . . In regard to the problem of my participation in communal activities, I discussed this matter with our branch secretary and the chairman in 1983. I told them that I was desperate. I asked them if they could accept my resignation as a cell leader. I also asked them if I could be exempted from other activities so that I could concentrate on my private activities and rescue my family. They told me that I should wait until when I am 65 years old in 1985. Alternatively, I would appreciate it if the village government would consider giving me any kind of assistance. For example, if the village government could give me Tz. shs. 700.00 or shs. 800.00, I would use the money for hiring a tractor to cultivate on my private farm. Perhaps this would be of great assistance to me. Should there be a drought, I am hoping to cultivate one or two acres of cassava and sweet potatoes for precaution purposes. I hope these crops could rescue me from a bad shortage of food that might occur.

Informant E, February 19, 1984

Three consecutive scheduled formal interviews had to be postponed because the informant could not keep his appointments on February 10, 1984, February 15, 1984 and February 16, 1984. Although the informant went to the researcher's lodging in the evening for a formal interview on February 16, 1984, it had to be rescheduled for February 19, 1984 because it was already getting dark.

When the interview started on February 19, 1984, the informant E was asked to give an account on 'a small house,' 'small pit,' 'kichanja,' 'traditional medicines' vs 'modern medicines,' 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM),' 'the importance of including English in the program,' 'clean water for drinking,' 'the importance of oxen ploughs,' and 'the importance of planting trees.' He said:

> That small house is a latrine. Each family must have one. The disadvantages of attending the call of nature anyhow is that if there is a person with a stomach disease, a fly will carry the disease on its legs from the faeces. Later on the fly will step on utensils or food. In this way, the fly will bring the disease to the whole family.
>
> In the past, people had no latrines. But, when I was a child I found that my grandfather had one. He probably thought that it was better to use a latrine rather than attending the call of nature anyhow. . . . He had no 'utaalam' [expertness] of any kind.
>
> The pits we have near our houses in the village are for garbage disposal. We throw all the garbage from our houses into them. Throwing garbage anyhow causes infectious diseases to spread. These diseases are brought to us by flies which go to different dirty places without paying any fare. Flies breed eggs in dirt. From the dirt, flies carry germs on their legs. These germs are very tiny and they can only be seen by using a 'darubini' [a microscope]. When an individual eats food after the flies with germs had stepped on it or on a utensil, that person gets infectious disease. We have other enemies which live in dirty places such as mosquitoes, bugs and spirillum ticks that bring us a very bad disease.
>
> In regard to a 'kichanja,' this has been discovered by 'wataalam' [experts] who said that if dishes were not washed up, flies would step on them. If one ate food out of those dishes,

that person could have dysentry or would begin passing blood with the stools. One could also get cholera by using unwashed dishes. Dishes must be washed. Then they must be put on a 'kichanja' to dry up in the sun. A well to do person could put the dishes in a cupboard and lock them after they had dried up.

. . . If there are insects on my private farm, for example, we do not have any assistance. What I can do is just to hope that the insects will leave my farm by themselves. It is much better for the communal farm because medicines [insecticides] are made available. These medicines can be used to drive away the insects from the communal farms. If there are insects on my private farm, I can ask for medicines from the village government leaders. They might give me some so that I can drive away the insects.

In case there are insects in my 'kilindo,' I can buy some medicines [insecticides] from shops. If I do not get these medicines, I shall use some leaves of 'Mkunghuni.' This knowledge is traditional. 'Mkunghuni' is nonpoisonous. The smell from 'Mkunghuni' leaves is not harmful to human beings. The smell simply drives away insects.

. . . Chickens are the only livestocks I have. If they get diseases, I shall seek advice from a veterinary officer. If the officer gives me some medicines or tablets, I shall put them into water and then let the chickens drink. Another method of treating them would be to inoculate them.

Should I fall sick, I shall go to see a doctor. The doctor may examine me in order to find out what is wrong. Then the doctor may give me some medicine to cure the disease. I shall go to a doctor who has complete [medical] examination instruments. I would not go to a native doctor who believes in supernatural powers of healing. The native doctor will delay me from getting cured. If there is a delay, I may die. . . . If I do not get well after receiving treatment, I shall go to Muhimbili Hospital [a national consultant hospital in Dar-es-Salaam] where there are more facilities than we have here. If I am not cured, I shall submit myself to God rather than going here and there. It is God who created me. It is God who brings me diseases. This body is not mine. It is God's. God who has given me this body will be sympathetic to me. God is sympathetic to everybody. I shall just stay home and pray for God's mercy. . . .

. . . God did not create human beings in order to give them diseases. God brought diseases because they make people repent. When a person falls sick, that is the time that individual recognizes God's existence. In order to get well, the person prays for God's help. . . . I am unable to list all the diseases which God brings us. Neither am I able to tell you how God spreads diseases. The ideas that God brings us diseases are mine. This is what I believe in. I have not been told by anybody. . . . To say the truth, I have made a mistake to say that God brings us heart diseases. . . . I have no evidence to support what I have said.

As far as 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' (CCM) is concerned, it is a party that was born by Tanganyika African National Union. . . . It is seen as a union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. . . . It is a political party. It is also a government party. 'Chama Cha Mapinduzi' is like a finger and a nail which are inseparable.

In our program, we have not been taught English. I think it is a good thing if everybody in the program is taught English. For example, there are certain medicines that have instruction written in English. If a person buys them from a shop and does not know English, the individual may use big doses. As such the medicines may harm the person. So every Tanzanian who is interested in learning English should be taught. Even if the pupils learn little English, it will help them in understanding the medicines they buy from shops.

In regard to clean water for drinking, ordinary water drawn from a well usually looks clean. But it has germs which can only be seen through a microscope. Such water is harmful for drinking. After the water has been drawn from the well, it must be boiled if it is going to be used for drinking. If there is a sieve, the water must be sifted and put into a clean pot with a cover. Later on it can be used for drinking. Last year's outbreak of cholera opened the door for the villagers to begin boiling water for drinking.

Before the outbreak of cholera, many people knew the importance of boiling water in order to kill germs. But they were not boiling water for drinking. I cannot tell lies, in the past I did not understand the meaning of boiling water for drinking. We only boiled water for bathing because we were afraid of having cold baths. When cholera broke out, experts advised us to boil water for drinking as well as for bathing. After cholera's disappearance, we have continued boiling water for drinking because we have seen the benefits of drinking boiled water. It is no good continuing with the habit of drinking unboiled water.

In regard to the use of oxen ploughs, the government gave us some ploughs and asked us to train some oxen and use them for cultivation in our village. Many people tried to train their oxen, but they still do not understand the benefits of using oxen ploughs. They are trying to use them but not very much. . . . People here do not know and do not think as much as other people do in other regions. People in other regions understand the benefits of using oxen ploughs. We should try to follow examples set by other regions. If oxen are trained to use a plough, they are not as expensive as a tractor to maintain. Oxen use neither oil [gas] nor grease. The oxen just need grass and clean water. . . . The expenses involved in buying medicines for inoculating them are not equivalent to those involved in purchasing oil for the tractor. Rich people who have large heads of cattle here value them very much. Instead of training oxen and letting them cultivate with ploughs, they probably think that

> to do that is to disturb or to inflict pains on them. They opt to do the cultivation by themselves. I blame the rich. Probably they feel mercy on their cattle because they milk them. If oxen were trained to use ploughs, some people who have no cattle but have money could hire them for cultivation on their private farms.
>
> Some of them have many donkeys. But still they do not want to train them to use ploughs for cultivation.
>
> The small holes I have prepared here around my house are for planting trees. In the past, there were many trees in this area. But we have used them all. The area is now as bare as a desert. So we thought we should plant some trees so that we get shade. Experts have also told us that in areas where there are not trees, rain becomes scarce. I have already planted ten fruit trees and four trees for shade. When the village government brings some seedlings this year, I shall plant them in these small holes which I have prepared.

Informant E, March 7, 1984

The researcher visited the informant's residence on February 25, 1984, but there was nobody home. On a Sunday morning of February 26, 1984, the informant visited the researcher's lodging. The informant looked excited and told the researcher that his wife (the informant's wife) had given birth to a child. The informant added that he was in search for some flour and sugar for his family. The informant showed the researcher some flour and sugar he had been given by some CEC's staff. The informant claimed that he had a balance of Tz. shs. 10.00 only with which he wanted to buy some flour for his family from the village shop.

Further, the informant also told the researcher that during the previous week he was in Mvumi searching for casual labour because he needed some money. As such, he could not even cultivate and weed his private millet farm adjacent to the communal millet farm. The informant added that even those people whose private farms were adjacent to his, only one individual had weeded. The informant claimed that the individual was able to do so by using casual labourers. This person gave the casual labourers some millet in return for the casual labour services rendered. Then the researcher gave the informant some flour. After this, both the informant and the researcher agreed to have a formal interview on March 7, 1984.

When the informant was asked if the program had helped him in changing his social relationships with different people, he stated:

> My relationships with various people prior to and after my enrollment in the program has been good. Although many of my relatives do not understand the importance of literacy programs, I try to help them understand. There has been good co-operation too in our work. We also exchange friendly visits. When one of my relatives is sick, I visit the person. They also visit me when I am not feeling well. Sometimes, I escort my relatives when they are sick to and fro the hospital.

Responding to a question on his participation in cultural activities, the informant said:

> I participate in traditional dances such as 'Msunyunto.' People enjoy this kind of dance as part of celebrations when they begin eating green maize and cucumber. . . . I can let my wife join other women in girls' puberty celebrations. Such celebrations make the mother understand that her daughter has reached adulthood. . . . My wife can cook food for the celebration, but I would not allow her to prepare liquor. The ladies who may be invited to the celebration usually bring part of flour and vegetables for celebration.
>
> . . . In regard to my participation in celebration for circumcision, I think it is important to participate in it because it is part of our custom. . . . In the past I thought that the kind of teaching provided to children during circumcision period was beneficial. Later on I realized that the circumcised children were sometimes beaten by the people who were taking care of them at camps. Children were also taught to obey rules. Moreover, the people taking care of the children were using abusive language to children. I think children can be taught to respect their parents and seniors without going through the circumcision process in camps. Sometimes I think it is better I take care of my circumcised child here at home than to submit my child to these people. If I let them take care of my child, they are going to tell the child useless words. . . . It is much better to send the child to a hospital

> for circumcision. When the child comes back home, I shall find one or two people to take care of the kid. This will be better than having 10 or 20 people taking care of one circumcised child. People who let many individuals from 10 to 20 to take care of the circumcised child, are doing it without realizing that they are making themselves poor.
>
> . . . I think I can send my child to the hospital for circumcision. If my relatives will hate me because of this, I do not care. I shall apologize to them for what I have done. Then I shall explain to them why I have done it. For example, when an individual puts water in a cooking pot in order to prepare stiff-porridge, that person must make sure that the water and the flour match proportionally [equivalent to you should cut your coat according to your cloth]. . . . We have not discussed anything concerning participation in celebrations for circumcision in the program. But I have learned from what many people are doing nowadays. I have been pleased with what these people are doing. I must follow this good example rather than making myself poor.

Informant E, March 13, 1984

The researcher visited the informant's home in order to conduct a tape recorded formal interview as had been scheduled for March 11, 1984. The informant was not home. It was claimed that the informant had gone to a neighbouring house to drink some liquour after church service. The informant's wife sent her boy to the house where liquour was being served. The boy returned with a report that his father was not there. Then the disappointed researcher went back to his lodging.

By March 9, 1984, the researcher had conducted five formal interviews with informant D. So when the researcher found the informant E on March 13, 1984, he conducted a tape recorded formal interview which included most of the questions that had been administered to the informant D covering the fourth and fifth formal interviews.

When asked to give an account on what were his aspirations in political participation, the informant pointed out:

> As I told you, I have been a cell leader since 1976. Sometime ago, I tried also to contest for another leadership position.

> Unfortunately I was not elected. At that time, I contested for leadership position because I wanted to lead my colleagues. I also wanted to learn matters concerning leadership. Since I am now very old, I do not want to contest for any leadership position. I have decided to take a rest for good.

Responding to the question on how the learning (or content) for the program was planned, the informant said:

> I was not involved in the planning of the learning for our program. Our teacher just came to our class and gave us examples of good agriculture. For example, the teacher taught us the importance of early cultivation and the use of medicines [insecticides] when plants are attacked by insects. That is all.
>
> If I were involved in the planning of our learning, I would have suggested the inclusion of learning how to use ploughs that are pulled by oxen or donkeys. I need such expertness. I have chosen oxen ploughs because this is not the time for us to continue relying on a hoe only. We need the assistance of oxen ploughs. If you cultivate alone every time, you become tired.

Commenting on the kind of learning activities they had both inside and outside the classroom, the informant stated:

> During the previous theoretical season, we did not have any learning activities outside the classroom as school children did. However, we had a garden the year before last year. About 20 people were involved in the project. The project included teachers as well as literacy pupils. Each participant contributed about Tz. shs. 10.00 or shs. 25.00 towards the cost of diesel for the water pump machine in the village. Our project depended on the water from a tank which received it from the water pump machine. Later on, the project collapsed due to lack of diesel.
>
> Because our class had men and women, we had some problems in the classroom. . . . In my opinion, I would like women and men to study in separate classrooms. Because woman sometimes behave like small children. For example, when we are studying in the classroom, sometimes the women look at one another and then burst into a laughter. Sometimes when a man looks at a certain woman, he fails even to do his writing.

At the end of this interview, the next one was scheduled for March 18, 1984.

Informant E, March 18, 1984

March 18, 1984 was a Sunday. The researcher had been allowed by the informant to attend church service at 10.00 a.m. before conducting a formal interview on that day. The researcher's purpose for attending the service was to observe the informant, the catechist, conduct a church service.

The researcher was the first person to arrive at the church followed by the informant or the catechist. When the informant arrived at the church, he greeted and gave to the researcher a handwritten letter. The first thing that came to the researcher's mind was that the letter was perhaps asking him not to attend church service for some unknown reasons. When the researcher opened the letter he realized that it had been written to him by the informant on the same day. The letter simply said:

> 'Ndugu' [comrade] daudi . . . excuse me . . . but don't hate me . . . 'ndugu' . . . I am desperate . . . my family and I have not eaten any food for the last three days . . . I have practically nothing at home. . . . So 'ndugu' . . . I request for your assistance. If you could give me some flour or money . . .. Yours _______.

The researcher got the message. (See the excerpt of the letter, Appendix N).

Later on, the informant or the catechist rang the bell and we all got into the church. There were not more than ten adults in the church including the researcher. Three of the adults were Mlowa Marabarani primary school teachers. There were also a few children. The whole church service was dominated by recitations from the bible and the prayer book. As such it was dull. Towards the end of the service the congregation was given an opportunity to ask questions.

One lady expressed her dissatisfaction with the way the service had been conducted on that day. She said that she had not learned anything from the service. She added that she was going back home as ignorant as she had been before she went to church. She suggested that the word should always be read from the bible and interpreted by someone. A number of people who spoke after her supported her ideas.

After the service, the informant and the researcher went to the informant's home for a tape recorded formal interview. When they arrived there, the researcher gave some assistance to the informant as he had requested in his letter. Then a tape recorded formal interview which included questions for the sixth and seventh formal interviews was conducted. Some of these questions were based on a semi-structured copy of the questionnaire which had already been administered to informant D on March 12, 1984. The other questions were specifically prepared for the seventh formal interview for the informant E.

Then the informant was asked to comment on the literacy textbooks he had been reading in the program. The informant said:

> I have read several books. The ones I like most include 'Ufugaji Bora' [Good Animal Husbandry] because it teaches people how to raise cattle which give us milk and butter. 'Kitabu Cha Siasa' [a book on political education], I had a copy of this book. But I do not know where it is. I am looking for it. I like it because I want to know matters concerning our country. 'Misitu ni Mali' [Forests are Property] is another book I like because trees help us. We use them for firewood and for building purposes. 'Mila na Desturi' [Customs and Tradition] is a good book. I must live according to our customs and traditions. 'Kazi ni Uhai' [Work is Life], I like it because as a human being, I must work so that I can live. Without working I cannot have life. 'Mlezi' [Guardian Magazine] gives a direction concerning church services.
>
> But I do not like other books such as 'Malimwengu' [a story book] because it is only a story book. It is not good for me.

> It is only good for those people who wrote it in their own place. . . . I do not know where it was written. I have gone through it and I have found that it is not beneficial to me. 'Mwanamalundi' is only a story book of the 'Wasukuma' ethnic group. I do not like it very much because it does not help me in anything.
>
> I also have two history books which I bought from a missionary bookshop. I bought them on my own, nobody told me to do it. I also have an exercise book which I was using for writing my notes. . . . But I cannot find it now.

Commenting on the suitability of "furniture," "teaching methods" and the "usage of the library" at the CEC, the informant pointed out:

> We in grades [levels] III and IV are the people who study at the CEC. Those in grades I and II study either in churches or under trees. In my opinion, the chairs that we use at the CEC during the literacy classes are good. It is better to have them than having none as our colleagues who study under trees.
>
> The teaching methods used by teachers in the classroom were good. The teachers treated us as adults. We were not making noises as little children do. When a literacy pupil made a mistake, the teacher just showed that person the error that had been made. The teacher also showed the person how to correct the mistake.
>
> In regard to the use of the CEC's library, I know that there is one here. Since we started attending the program, I have been able to get into the library twice. I usually went there so that I could develop myself in the program. But we do not use it nowadays. It looks as if the program has been closed. Therefore, we are outside and free. Normally, we begin using it when the theoretical season starts.

When he was asked to give constructive suggestions in general which could help to improve the post-functional literacy program, this is what the informant said:

> I would like to be educated particularly in good agriculture. Emphasis should be put on agricultural subject because when I harvest cereals, they will rescue me by all means. They will also rid poverty and reduce the problem of famine. Even if I do not have relatives, provided I have food, I shall feel as if all my relatives are here. I would also like emphasis to be put on the teaching of reading, writing and political education. Moreover, I would like to understand Kiswahili better than I do at present.

Asked to react to a question whether or not he would have planted trees around his house had the village government not directed every villager to do so, the informant pointed out:

> No, I began planting trees around my house after the village government had directed us to plant them. Then the government gave us some seedlings and we planted them.

Responding to a question on what the situation was prior to the cholera outbreak regarding pits for garbage disposal, use of 'kichanja' and his habit of drinking boiled water, the informant stated" "Before cholera broke out, I had neither a pit for garbage disposal nor 'kichanja' and we never drank boiled water."

Asked if he was still using the pit for garbage disposal, the 'kichanja' and boiled water for drinking, the informant claimed that he was still following the directive issued by the village government.

When asked if he had been planting millet in rows on his private farm before the village government directed every villager to do so, the informant said, "Although we learned the importance of planting millet in rows, I had not been planting millet in rows on my private farm before the village government directed us to do it." Asked if he had any question to ask the researcher, the informant said that he had none.

After this, the researcher administered an informal test to the informant E. The aim was to test the informant in reading, writing and simple arithmetic. But there was no pass or fail in this test. The informant was asked to read a paragraph from a book of his own choice. He read aloud a paragraph from the Bible and it was tape recorded. Second, he was asked to write his full name and the researcher's full name. However, the results of all the informal tests will be discussed in the next section.

Then the informant did simple arithmetic sums involving subtraction, division, multiplication and addition signs. The sums were presented in the order of the signs involved. When the informant was doing the sums, he kept on thinking aloud (talking). His talk was tape recorded as follows:

> The sign in the first sum is multiplication. In the second sum the sign is confusing me. The third sum has a subtraction sign, but I fail to recognize the sign in the last sum.

A brief summary of the characteristics of the graduates who participated in the in-depth study is presented in the following section.

Characteristics of the In-Depth Study Interviewees

From the graduates' perspectives presented in this chapter, it has become clear that the five graduates who participated in the in-depth study were born and brought up in Mlowa Barabarani village. Among them, only one had worked and lived outside his village and region. The graduates' age range was roughly between 33 and 64 years. All the graduates were married and had families and the average number of children per family was four. Most of the graduates lived with their children with the exception of one who had all her daughters married. But she lived with one of her grandchildren.

Two of the graduates had received elementary education up to grades 2 and 4 respectively before enrolling in the literacy programs. The other three graduates had not. The earliest graduate joined the literacy program for the first time in 1958 while the latest enrolled in 1981. Three graduates said they had reached level IV of the post-functional literacy program. The other two did not respond to the question. However, none of these graduates who had sat for literacy examinations had been given the examination results. Neither had they been given any literacy certificates. One had not sat for any literacy examinations since 1958.

All of the five graduates were peasant-farmers. However, some of them played different roles such as those of a Catechist, cell leader, night watchman, and representative member in the village government on a voluntary basis.

A description of the characteristics of the graduates who were involved in the cross-informant interviewing is presented in the section that follows.

Characteristics of the Cross-Informant Interviewees

After a series of interviews with graduates involved in the in-depth study, the researcher conducted cross-informant interviews involving 12 post-functional literacy graduates. These interviews were conducted between April 28, 1984 and May 2, 1984 as shown in Figure 4.

Cross-Informant Interviewees	April, 1984			May, 1984		Total Graduates
Dates	28	29	30	1	2	
Number of graduates interviewed	1	2	3	4	2	12

Figure 4. The Number of Graduates Interviewed on Respective Dates

All the 12 graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing were born and brought up in Mlowa Barabarani village. However, one graduate (an ex-grade 4 of elementary school) had worked as a night watchman and lived in Mwanza Region for some years. After he had left his job in Mwanza, he visited Rukwa Region where he said he was impressed with the way people in that region planted their crops in rows. A second person had been to Dar-es-Salaam searching for casual employment. The third individual said she moved and lived for some years in Mbeya Region with her parents during her childhood.

The cross-informant interviewees were between 19 and 64 years of age. The age distribution of these interviewees was as shown in Figure 5.

Ages Between	Number of Graduates
15-30 years old	3
31-45 years old	7
46-60 years old	1
61-75 years old	1
Total number of graduates	12

Figure 5. Age Distribution of the Graduates who Participated in the Cross-Informant Interviewing

Two of the graduates were unmarried male and a female. The female graduate lived with her parents. The male graduate had lost both of his parents and lived alone. The 10 male graduates were married. One of them was married to two wives with a total of 11 children. Another one was married to two wives and had a total of nine children. The number of children per family ranged from one to eleven. But the average number of children per family was five. One male graduate, who had nine children, had a total of 14 grandchildren. Most of the graduates lived with their children with the exception of three. Those three graduates had some of their children living with their grandparents. One graduate lived with his wife, children and his elderly parent.

Some of the graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing enrolled in literacy programs prior to the development of the concept of functional literacy. Others joined the literacy programs after the introduction of the functional literacy programs. While some graduates had received elementary education prior to their enrollment in the programs, others had no formal education at all. What they had was informal education.

Some graduates were not sure of the levels they had reached in the post-functional literacy program. In general they claimed to have reached levels ranging from II to VII. One of those who said they had reached level II of the program pointed out that in 1983 he attended a class which was conducted in a church. A graduate who claimed to have reached level VII in the program equated his level to that of grade 7 of elementary school. However, four graduates said they did not know the levels they had reached. One of those who claimed they did not know the levels they had reached in the program said during the 1983 theoretical season, he attended a functional literacy class conducted under a tree. A summary of the enrollment of the cross-informant interviewees and the levels they had reached in the post-functional literacy program is provided in Figure 6.

All the 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing with the exception of one claimed to have sat for the National Adult Education Literacy Examinations several times. Among those who claimed to have sat for these examinations, only two said they had been given the examination results for 1975 and 1981 respectively. But none of the graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing had received literacy certificates. All the graduates were peasant-farmers. However, two of the male graduates played roles of church elders and three played that of cell leaders in addition to their economic activities.

On the whole, the graduates who participated in the in-depth study and those who were involved in the cross-informant interviewing had similar personal characteristics. These characteristics included the graduates' birth place, age range, marital status, family sizes, socialization or elementary education and working experiences. Other characteristics included the graduates' levels reached in the program and efforts made in sitting for National Literacy Examinations several times without receiving any official examination results or literacy certificates.

In the following section, a summary of themes emerging from the in-depth study is made. And the perspectives of the 12 graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing are used to validate the findings derived from the in-depth study.

Year of Enrollment	Number of Cross-Informant Interviewees	Grade Reached in Elementary School	Level Reached in Literacy
1940	1	--	IV
1955	1	--	VI
1957	1	--	V
1966	1	--	III
1971	1	IV	II
1972	1	IV	III
1974	2	--	One in V; the other did not know
1981	1	II	Did not know
1982	1	II	Did not know
1983	2	IV	One in VII; the other did not know
Total	12		

Figure 6. Number of Cross-Informant Interviewees Enrolled in Literacy Programs from 1940-1983 and Levels Reached in Literacy

A Summary of Emerging Themes

The Will of God

The graduates' perspectives about reality prior to their enrollment in the literacy programs have been reflected in this chapter. For example, some of the five graduates in the in-depth study said God brought rain and diseases. Others said it was God who planted grass for grazing livestock. The 12 graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing reacting to questions concerning the conditions which were conceived to be there because of (to use Nyerere's term, in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 55), "The Will of God" revealed similar perpectives which are presented in Figure 7.

Conditions	By God	Not By God	By Dirt	By Both God and Harmful Germs	By Harmful Germs Only	By God and Trees	By Rain
Diseases were brought	5	--	1	1	5	--	--
Grass for grazing was planted	5	6	--	--	--	--	1
Rain was brought	1	7	--	--	--	4	--

Figure 7. Graduates' Perspectives of Reality

Graduates' Attitudes Towards Others

Further, two of the graduates involved in the in-depth study revealed that they were afraid of party, government and religious leaders as well as the literates. The 12 graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing also revealed their perspectives of social relationships as summarized in Figure 8.

Social Group	Afraid of	Not Afraid of	Just Respect
Party Leaders	3	8	1
Government Leaders	3	8	1
Religious Leaders	2	9	1
Literate People	2	9	1

Figure 8. The 12 Graduates' Social Relationships with Various Social Groups

Crop Planting

It has also been indicated by some of the five graduates in the in-depth study that traditionally they had been planting millet anyhow and not in rows. During the thinning out about 17 or 18 millet plants could be left in one hole. It was assumed that by leaving many millet plants in one hole, they could harvest more food. Among the 12 graduates participating in the cross-informant interviewing, 11 said they planted millet anyhow before they enrolled in the functional literacy programs. One graduate only claimed that he planted his millet in rows before joining the programs. The graduate further claimed that he followed the example he had learned in Rukwa Region where people planted crops in rows.

Agricultural Implements

From the perspectives of the five graduates in the in-depth study, it was evident that traditionally oxen ploughs had not been used for cultivation. The use of oxen for cultivation was considered as an act of cruelty to animals. Among the 12 graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing, two graduates said that to use oxen for cultivation was cruel. Ten graduates said it was not. However, all the 12 graduates used hoes throughout for cultivation on their private farms during the 1983/84 rainy season.

Soil Conservation

Shifting cultivation as indicated by some of the five graduates in the in-depth study was considered to be a solution to infertility of the graduates' existing private farms. Among the 12 graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing, for instance, three said they were busy in April/May 1984 clearing the forest in order to extend their existing private farms.

Manure

When asked if they had put any manure on their existing farms in 1983/84 rain season, only three graduates said they did. The remaining nine graduates said they did not. Long distances from the graduates' homes to their respective private farms were given as the major reason for not putting manure from their livestock. One of the 12 graduates said that he did not put manure because of his own laziness. Another graduate said he did not do it because his farm was on a slope. If he put some manure on the farm it would have been washed away by rain.

Crop Preservation

Some of the five graduates involved in the in-depth study revealed that by tradition they used 'Mikunghuni' for preservation of their millet in the 'kilindo.' The 12 graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing expressed similar views. Further, they all believed that 'Mikunghuni' used as an insecticide was effective and harmless to human beings.

Disease and Health Practices

It was also revealed by some of the five graduates that before the cholera outbreak in the village, they traditionally boiled water for bathing only. They boiled it because they did not like to have cold baths. The 12 graduates asked if they had boiled water for drinking the previous day, 11 graduates said they did not. One graduate only said she did. And graduates said they had no 'vichanja' before cholera broke out. One graduate only claimed to have had one before cholera broke out. All 12 graduates said they had no pits for garbage disposal before cholera broke out.

Rituals

Circumcision. Most of the five graduates in the in-depth study participated in celebrations for circumcision. Some believed that the learning provided to circumcised children was good. Others believed that the teaching was not worthwhile because the old people used abusive language to the children. Seven out of 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said the teaching provided to the children was not good. One graduate said he never participated in such celebrations because he was a Christian.

Puberty. It was also revealed that some of the five graduates celebrated girls' puberty. There was a societal pressure that girls' puberty must be marked by a celebration. If a girl's puberty was not celebrated, in the event of the girl becoming pregnant, the society would have been concerned. A girl was considered a child before she reached puberty age. As such, it was considered as unusual for a child to be pregnant.

Harvests. There were also some celebrations marking harvests as revealed by some of the five graduates. The purpose of these celebrations was to thank God for keeping them alive throughout the year. Three graduates out of 12 said they had such celebrations for harvests, but nine graduates said they did not have.

However, some of the five graduates were concerned about the costs involved in these celebrations. Five out of the 12 graduates said it was uneconomical to use many bags of millet for celebrations. But six graduates said it was economical because they wanted to enjoy with their friends. One graduate did not react to this question because he was a Christian.

Diet

From the perspectives of the five graduates, it was revealed that during childhood, these graduates were not allowed to eat certain foodstuffs. These foodstuffs such as eggs and liver were considered taboos. Reacting to questions on balanced diet, the 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said during their childhood, they were also not allowed to each such foodstuffs by their parents. Further, they said these foodstuffs were considered as taboos.

On the whole, this summary includes the graduates' beliefs in the conditions that existed because of "The Will of God" and the graduates' social relationships with various social groups. The graduates' beliefs included traditional methods in agriculture, the use of oxen ploughs, the preservation of cereals, hygienic practices as well as the traditional ceremonies and taboos. The next sub-section deals with a summary of the perspectives of the graduates on why they enrolled in the literacy programs.

The Graduates' Enrollment in the Literacy Programs

Given the graduates' cultural backgrounds, some had an elementary education ranging from grade 2 to 4 of elementary school. Others had none. From the five graduates' perspectives, some enrolled in the program because they wanted to receive more knowledge or more education. Others joined the program because they wanted to acquire literacy skills for their personal benefit. For example, some wanted to learn writing their names because they did not like to continue signing official documents by using thumb prints. Some wanted to learn about good agricultural methods and the importance of having balanced diets. Others wanted to acquire literacy skills which could help them in performing their duties as cell leaders. The 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing held similar views. Reacting to a question on why they joined the programs, for example, six said they did because they wanted to receive more education. Three said they wanted to receive more knowledge and three others said they wanted to learn literacy skills. After joining the program, some said they had been motivated to learn more arithmetic, agriculture, political education and Kiswahili language for their own personal benefit. Some conceived education to have no end. What the graduates learned is summarized in the following sub-section.

The Graduates' Perspectives of What was Learned from the Program

Apart from acquiring literacy skills and knowledge in general, the graduates said they learned Kiswahili language which was the medium of instruction. From the five graduates' perspectives presented in this chapter, the graduates have revealed their sophisticated Kiswahili vocabulary such as 'kitaalam' (expertly), 'darubini' (microscope), 'hatari' (danger) and 'kipindupindu' (cholera), etc. The graduates also learned political education, general cleanliness, balanced diet and livestock rearing. Both the graduates involved in the in-depth study and cross-informant interviewing said they learned about the importance of having a latrine, planting tress, planting millet in rows, drinking boiled water, having a 'kichanja' and a pit for garbage disposal. The graduates said they learned these things from the program and other sources such as the village government's socio-economic development program. Figure 9 shows the sources from which the graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing learned the importance of these things.

Learned the Importance of	From Functional Literacy Program		From Village Government Program	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Latrine	10	2	--	--
Planting trees	10	2	--	--
Planting millet in rows	8	3	1	--
Drinking boiled water	9	3	--	--
Having a 'kichanja'	10	2	--	--
Having a pit for garbage disposal	10	2	--	--

Figure 9. The Graduates' Acquisition of Knowledge through Two Programs

In general, what was learned was described by the graduates as being beneficial to them. The next sub-section deals with a brief summary of the kinds of problems/successes experienced by the graduates in the program.

The Graduates' Perspectives of the Successes/Problems They Experienced in the Program

Educational materials and teaching/learning strategies. From the graduates' perspectives, it has become clear that there were shortages of writing materials at the CEC and in the village as a whole. It has also been revealed that in some adult classes reading dominated all other learning activities. Little or no written work was assigned to the pupils of the post-functional literacy program.

Five out of 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing, for example, said they did not do any written work in their class during the previous theoretical season because of lack of writing materials. There was also a shortage of literacy textbooks at the CEC. However, the researcher found some of the interviewees with small collections of literacy textbooks in their respective homes as listed in Appendix O. The list would have perhaps been longer had all the graduates shown their literacy textbooks to the researcher. It was impossible to have all the books shown to the researcher because some of the graduates claimed that the persons who had the keys to their chests containing the books were not home at the time of the interview. Some of the books shown to the researcher belonged to the CEC.

Literacy textbooks. Some graduates commenting on these literacy books found in their respective homes, seemed to like those on 'Good Animal Husbandry,' 'Health,' 'Political Education,' 'Religious Knowledge,' 'Forestry,' 'Customs and Tradition,' and 'Work is Life.' The reasons why they liked them were that they provided them with reading skills as well as the kind of knowledge they needed for their work and spiritual life in case of the Bible. Books on political education were considered beneficial to the graduates because they gave them an understanding of the political party needed by CCM members. However, the graduates had different conflicting opinions about storybooks. Some graduates liked them because they wanted to learn how people outside their village lived. But others did not. For example, the book titled 'Mwanamalundi,' a Sukuma by ethnic origin was not liked by some graduates because it was simply a storybook. As such it was seen as not being beneficial. 'Malimwengu' was also seen as simply a storybook and that it was only good for its authors. It was not beneficial to the graduates.

Use of CEC's library. It was also revealed that the library at the CEC was not fully utilized by the graduates. For example, during the previous theoretical season, two said they used the library and 10 said they did not. The reasons given for not utilizing the library were either administrative or lack of interest, awareness and time on the part of the graduates.

CEC's furniture. Seven of the 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing considered the furniture they were using in the classes at the CEC was unsuitable to adults because it was too low.

Test in writing. Related to shortage of writing materials was the graduates' lack of adequate writing and computation skills. For instance, in a written test administered by the researcher, one graduate in the in-depth study was only able to write her first name. But she was unable to write her surname and the researcher's full name. In the cross-informant interviewing, one was neither able to write his first name nor his surname.

Test in computation. In regard to a test on computation, one graduate in the in-depth study was unable to do any of the four sums involving subtraction, division, multiplication and addition. The other graduate who attempted to do the questions got only two sums correct. Among those involved in the cross-informant interviewing, five graduates declined to attempt the questions. They said they were unable to do them because they considered them to be difficult. Of the seven graduates who attempted the questions, two got three sums out of four correct, four graduates got two sums correct. However, one graduate got all the four sums wrong.

Test in reading. The researcher also administered a test in reading. All the graduates willing to read a short paragraph for the researcher chose and read one from the Bible. While it was easy to listen and understand what was read in a number of cases, it was not so in two cases. In these two cases, the graduates could not pronounce some of the words properly.

Teaching/learning strategies. Some of the five graduates in the in-depth study expressed their concerns about the teaching/learning strategies used in the class. Furthermore, seven out of the 12 graduates said that in the classroom, they simply read books and there were no discussions. Second, some teachers when teaching arithmetic went very fast. As such, some graduates were unable to understand some of the concepts. Third, some graduates preferred to be taught by teachers to ex-elementary school graduates. For example, five graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said they would like to be taught by qualified elementary school teachers. These graduates believed that the teachers were knowledgeable and 'had more light' than the ex-elementary school graduates. Moreover, the teachers did not suffer from an inferiority complex as the ex-elementary school graduates did. As such, they (the literacy graduates) trusted them. They considered the ex-elementary school graduates as failures of elementary schools. So, if they were taught by failures they would get 'drowned.' They described the ex-elementary school graduates who taught adult classes as people who did that only when they wanted to. Even when they went to teach adult classes, they just taught for a short time.

Theoretical season. Some graduates considered the whole period for theoretical season to be short. For instance, one of the 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said, "Shall I be able to learn anything by attending classes within that period . . . just two hours a day?"

Class attendance/ "Udoba" by-laws. It was also revealed by some of the five graduates in the in-depth study that class attendance was poor. During the cross-informant interviewing, one graduate said that sometimes in a class of about 35 only 6 or 10 graduates attended. Because of poor attendance, some graduates had to pay fines for not attending classes. In the cross-informant interviewing, six graduates said some graduates in their classes had been fined for not attending classes. One of the graduates said that the money acrued from the fines was used for buying exercise books which were awarded to graduates who were making good progress in the class. The other graduates stated that they did not know how the money from the fines was used. However, seven graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said they did not like the 'udoba' class by-laws. One of the graduates argued that there was no need to have such by-laws because they were doing fine. Another graduate added that he would like to see people doing things on their own free will. Another graduate said he did not like them because there was a possibility of having someone being treated unjustly. He said, for example, the person might have nothing to enable the individual to meet the fines or 'udoba.' But the person's clothes or the only hen that person might have could be taken away. That person could have used the hen for the benefit of the family. If the hen was taken away from that person, the individual would remain with nothing. A third graduate commenting on the class udoba by-laws said he did not like them because they were disturbing people's minds. As such, he said people could not make progress because they were kept busy thinking about 'udoba' only. He thought that sometimes these people could say, "let them come and collect their 'udoba' (fine(s)), but we are not going to attend classes." Another graduate who did not like these class 'udoba' by-laws pointed out that it was useless to collect 'udoba' (fine(s)) from an individual who did not understand the importance of the program. It would not matter to such a person even if the individual was asked to pay the 'udoba' (fine(s)) many times. But the individual who understood the importance of the program would ask permission from the teacher when needed, and the permission could be granted to that person.

On the other hand, five graduates liked these class 'udoba' by-laws. They argued that if there were no by-laws, people would not attend classes. Further, one of those graduates who was not in favour of the class 'udoba' by-laws noted that nobody would accept the idea of abolishing the by-laws. He argued that if the by-laws were abolished, people would not attend adult classes.

Co-education classes. Some graduates, both males and females, involved in the in-depth study expressed their concerns regarding some problems they had in co-education classes. The male graduates, for example, said that some women behaved like small children in the classes. It was revealed that sometimes they burst into laughter in the class. Further, it was revealed that sometimes women went to the class with their babies who made noises. The graduates said they could not study well because of the noises. One female graduate said she did not like to study in the same class with males. Unfortunately she declined to give any reasons to support her dissatisfaction. In the cross-informant interviewing, five graduates said they liked studying with both males and females in the same class. However, six graduates said they did not. Their reasons for their dislike were similar to those given in the in-depth study. One graduate was neutral. The next sub-section presents the graduates' perspectives of what should be done in order to improve the program.

The Graduates' Perspectives of What Should be Done to Improve the Post-Functional Literacy Program

Emphasis on agriculture. From the in-depth study, it has been made clear that some graduates would have liked emphasis to be put on the teaching of 'good agriculture.' Some of the graduates in the cross-informant interviewing held similar views. These graduates thought that the acquisition and application of good agricultural methods would lead to graduates' self-sufficiency in food. They would, as one graduate put it, 'okoa' (rescue) their families from food shortages. Further, some graduates suggested that they should be taught how to use oxen ploughs practically. Other graduates suggested a number of productive projects which should be included in the program. The proposed projects included gardening, carving and pottery. The graduates who made these proposals thought that these projects would have formed a link between what they learned in class (theory) and work. From the projects, some graduates thought they could get some money which they would use for the benefit of the program. Some said they could even make use of some products from the project.

Languages. Some graduates suggested emphasis be put on the teaching of Kiswahili, reading and writing skills. They thought they knew little Kiswahili and would have liked to learn more Kiswahili language. Those graduates in the cross-informant interviewing argued that it was important to learn the language because many literacy textbooks as well as some newspapers were written in Kiswahili.

Some suggested English be taught in the program. Those who made the proposal said that they needed some knowledge of the English language which would enable them to read and understand how to use some medicines they bought from shops. Others thought the knowledge of English would enable them to understand people who might backbite them. Some needed to learn just a little English that would enable them to greet English speakers in that language.

The 3Rs. Some graduates realized the problems they had been experiencing in reading and writing. So they felt the need to have emphasis put on the teaching of these skills. Others would have liked emphasis to be put on the teaching of arithmetic. They believed that the subject was useful in their daily life.

Political education. Some graduates suggested that emphasis be put on the teaching of political education. They said they needed some knowledge in political education which would enable them to understand the political party.

Topics of interest. Some graduates focussed on 'topics' rather than on subject areas. For example, they said they would have liked to be taught about 'balanced diet.' They argued that balanced diet was vital for their good health. They also said they would like to be taught about 'cleanliness' which was important for their good health too.

Supply of educational materials/Class attendance. One of the 12 graduates in the cross-informant interviewing focussed on the supply of educational materials and the graduates' class attendance. This is what he said:

> My opinion regarding the program in general or my suggestions concern books, pencils, pens and exercise books which should be increased in supply. Pupils should also increase their efforts in attending classes. When it is a day for them to attend classes, they must attend so that they can benefit rather than saying "Ah! They are delaying us from work." Some people say that they are being delayed from work. They say that if they study as adults, where will they get jobs. Small children study up to grade 7 of elementary school, and yet they do not get jobs. Those who continue up to grade 12 of secondary school still do not get employment. How come that we graduates

> of 'kisomo chenye manufaa' [functional literacy program] - should expect to get jobs?

Another graduate in the cross-informant interviewing focussing on the graduates' attendance stated:

> Things that I would like to be added or to be emphasized in the program is to put emphasis on the collection of 'udoba' [fine(s)] only. This will make the literacy pupils to be punctual in attending classes. Because if 'udoba' [fine] is collected from an individual, that person will very much feel the pinch.

It is worthwhile noting that under the 'udoba' by-laws, 'udoba' (fine) is collected from an offender without being taken to the court of law.

Theoretical season. Some of the graduates thought that the period for theoretical season was short. As such, they thought they were unable to learn what they were expected to cover within that period. So they suggested that the period for theoretical season be increased. Finally, some graduates suggested that literacy graduates be allowed to participate in curriculum planning. A discussion on what the graduates did with their learning is presented in the subsection that follows.

The Graduates' Perspectives of What They Did with What They Learned from the Program

Use of the 3Rs. It has become clear from the perspectives presented in this chapter that the graduates had been putting into use some of their acquired knowledge and skills. Some of the graduates said and demonstrated to the researcher that they had been using their reading skills in reading the Bible, books, letters and magazines.

Others used their writing skills in writing their personal letters. Some even used their 3Rs in helping their children in their school work. Those who had been appointed as catechists used their literacy skills in conducting church services. The catechists also provided religious instruction to school children, people who were getting ready to be baptized and to those who were being prepared to be confirmed as Christians.

Diet. Eleven graduates claimed that because of their learning, they had begun allowing their children to eat different kinds of foodstuffs which they once believed to be taboos to children. They said they did that to ensure that their children had good health. But one graduate said he had not believe in the importance of people having balanced diets.

Political education. Some graduates further claimed that because of political education they had received from the program, they were able to participate in the village government as cell leaders or representative member(s).

Production. Some graduates claimed that the education they had received from the program enabled them to increase production. One of the graduates in the in-depth study, for example, said that by using good methods in agriculture, she harvested a lot of food. Good agricultural methods were perceived to include the putting of manure on the farms, planting the recommended type of millet in rows and the thinning out of the crops. However, after the harvest, she sold part of the food and bought some livestock.

In the cross-informant interviewing, four graduates said that after selling part of their harvest, they bought some livestock. For example, the four graduates said they had 7 heads of cattle, 8 goats and 6 sheep; 10 heads of cattle and 12 goats; 5 heads of cattle, 7 goats and 2 sheep; and 4 heads of cattle and 5 goats respectively. One of them sold two heads of cattle in 1983/84 and obtained a total of Tz. shs. 3,700.00. He spent part of the money on food for his 2 wives and 11 children. He used part of the money for paying casual labourers who had worked on his private farm. Another graduate who did some business, slaughtered some of his cattle and got Tz. shs. 10,000.00 in 1982/83. In 1983/84, he slaughtered some and got Tz. shs. 15,000.00. He used the money for buying five heads of cattle to replace the ones he had slaughtered for sale. Then he spent part of his money on food and clothing. However, 8 out of the 12 graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing said the crops they had harvested in 1982/83 were inadequate for food to last for the whole year.

The sizes of the graduates' farms, in acres, on which each of the 12 graduates had planted, cultivated and weeded during the 1983/84 rain season are shown in Figure 10. The graduates' projections of their harvests for 1983/84 are also depicted in the same figure.

All the 12 graduates said what they expected to get from the 1983/84 harvest was going to be inadequate for food. Further, they revealed that they were not going to sell any millet after the 1983/84 harvest. Their views on this particular issue were similar to those

The 12 Graduates' Farming Activities and Their Projections for 1983/84 Harvests	The 12 Post-Functional Literacy Graduates											
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th
Planted millet (in acres)	5	2	9.5	4.25	8	9	1	7.5	2	6.5	5	5.5
Cultivated millet (in acres)	-	-	5	1.5	-	5.5	1	2	0.5	2	2	2
Weeded millet (in acres)	-	-	5	1.5	-	5.5	1	2	0.5	2	2	2
Projected millet harvest (in sacks)	-	-	6	3	-	4	-	5	1.5	6.5	10	6

Figure 10. The Graduates' Private Millet Farms and Projected Harvests

expressed by the graduates who participated in the in-depth study.

From the perspectives presented in this chapter, very few graduates involved in the in-depth study had planted, cultivated and weeded cassava. For those graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing, one graduate had planted, cultivated and weeded 0.25 acre, two had 0.5 acre each and one had 1 acre planted, cultivated and weeded. The other 8 out of the 12 graduates had not planted any cassava. The projections for cassava crop were not made because the graduates said they had very little experience in growing the crop.

Some graduates who participated in the in-depth study said they had planted, cultivated and weeded some groundnuts. Some graduates in the cross-informant interviewing also said they had planted this crop. For instance, one graduate had 0.5 acre of groundnuts; six had 1 acre each; two had 1.5 each; one had 3 acres and two had none. The projections for the harvest of groundnut crops ranged from one tinful to five sacks. Among the 12 graduates, there was only one graduate who had 0.25 acre of grapes. The grape grower projected the harvest to be about 2.25 sacks.

Village government directives. It has also been revealed from the graduates' perspectives that some graduates did not apply their knowledge in certain areas until the village government had issued directives. For example, in the in-depth study, some graduates said that if the government had not told them to build latrines, to plant trees around their houses and to plant millet in rows, they would not have done these things on their own. These graduates also said they would not have had pits for garbage disposal, the 'kichanja' and boiled water for drinking had the village government not told them to do so in order to prevent cholera from spreading in the village. After it had been assumed that cholera had been wiped out, some graduates relaxed. They believed that their enemy cholera was no longer there.

In the case of the graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing, two graduates claimed that they had latrines before joining Mlowa Barabarani Ujamaa village. After they had moved into the village, they built their latrines without being told by anybody to do so. One graduate said that when she and her parents joined the village she was still a child. As such she did not know whether or not her parents were told by somebody to build a latrine. The remaining nine graduates said before they had moved into the village, they had no latrines. They said they built them after the village government had directed every villager to build one.

Among the participants in the cross-informant interviewing, one graduate claimed to have planted trees around the house without being told by anybody to do so. Another graduate claimed to have planted millet in rows without being directed by any person. And one female graduate claimed to have begun boiling water for drinking and having a 'kichanja' without being directed by anybody to do so. Although the other graduates said to have learned the importance of having or doing these things from the program, they did not begin applying their knowledge until when the village government directed them to do so. But it was also clear that some graduates would not apply their knowledge in some cases without having some provision of certain materials made. For example, one graduate in the cross-informant interviewing said that he planted some trees around the house after the village government had directed them to do so. Further, the graduate said the village government also provided them with some seedlings.

However, two graduates (one with grade 4 elementary education and the other one without schooling) said they had not begun planting millet in rows on their private farms. On both the village millet communal farm and on their private farms adjacent to it, they planted the millet in rows. They pointed out that they were doing this on the 'shamba la mataleo' (communal farm) and on their private farms adjacent to it simply because the village government had directed them to do so. They argued that they had not started planting millet in rows on their private farms because they had not been taught. They said they had just heard government leaders talking about the importance of planting millet in rows. But they had not seen the results in terms of crops from farms on which millet had been planted in rows. They, therefore, despised the method of planting millet in rows. They had continued planting millet anyhow on their private farms. They argued that their private farms were verv big. As such, they were unable to plant millet in rows.

Application of informal education. From the graduates' perspectives, it has also become evident that some graduates were utilizing some knowledge that they had received through informal education. For example, in the in-depth study, one of the graduates was found by the researcher preparing some beehives. As part of his preparation, the graduate was found putting some liquid into the beehives. The graduate claimed that he had put the liquid into the beehives in order to attract bees into the beehives. The liquid had been obtained from some small plants (weeds) that had been soaked in water. Further, two graduates who were involved in the cross-informant interviewing also revealed that they had been busy preparing beehives during the 1983/84 dry season. One of them said he had prepared 80 beehives during the season. He claimed that all 80 beehives had already got bees. He further claimed that in 1982/83 he got Tz. shs. 2,000.00 from the sale of three tinfuls of honey. He said he used this money for buying some cattle and goats. The other graduate said he had been busy making beehives during the 1983/84 dry season. A third graduate said he had been doing some carving for his personal use during that season. The following sub-section focusses on the kind of problems encountered by the graduates when applying what they had learned from the program.

The Graduates' Perspectives of the Problems Experienced in Applying Learning

From the graduates' perspectives of what they did with what they had learned from the program, it has become clear that these graduates encountered some problems in applying their learning. For example, some graduates were unable to write their personal letters as well as their surnames. Some of the graduates who played several roles of peasant-farmers, catechists and at the same time participated in 'mataleo' (communal activities) expressed the need to be relieved of some of their duties. They thought that this would give them enough time to concentrate on their private agricultural activities in order to be self-sufficient in food. One of the graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing, for instance, said 'matoleo yamezidi' (there has been too much communal work). The graduate suggested that communal activities other than communal farm activities should be reduced. However, other graduates said they could cope with their multiple roles.

Use of hoes. When applying the learning the graduates had received from the program, most graduates depended entirely on the use of hoes. Very few could afford hiring the only village tractor for cultivation of their private farms. Although the village had some oxen ploughs, nobody used them. Some graduates still believed that to use oxen for cultivation was an act of cruelty to the animals.

Weather conditions. Bad weather conditions or droughts sometimes contributed to the graduates' low productivity. Drought resistant millet had been introduced in the area in order to alleviate this problem. But the millet sometimes could not stand the droughts. In the in-depth study, for example, several graduates said they experienced food shortages because of the droughts. Some graduates participating in the cross-informant interviewing said they also experienced food shortages. Some of the graduates thought that the cultivation of cassava or root crop would alleviate the problem of food shortages. They argued that the root crop required just a minimal amount of rain. Two graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing had different views on this issue.

One said the problem of food shortages could be alleviated by working hard on the farm while another graduate said it could not.

Lack of knowledge. Other graduates were still planting millet anyhow because they had not been taught in the program concerning the importance of planting millet in rows. Second, they argued that the large sizes of their private farms compelled them not to plant millet in rows. Some graduates planted millet in rows on large areas of their private farms. But they neither cultivated nor weeded all the areas of their farms on which they had planted some crops. The "Black Cotton Soils" which turned into mud were considered to be the major contributing factors to the graduates' failure to cultivate and weed their private farms. No constructive suggestions were given by the graduates concerning how to cultivate and weed their farms on the "Black Cotton Soils" especially during heavy rains.

Use of fertilizers/manure. It has been revealed that the fertilizers which some graduates had learned about were sometimes not available in the village. The graduates instead used manure from their livestock. In some cases, the graduates did not use manure of any kind. Their reasons for not using manure included their own laziness and some of their farms being situated in distant places. They could not afford carrying manure on their shoulders to their distant private farms. Shifting cultivation was considered by some graduates to be an alternative available to them. Whenever their private farms lost their fertility, they embarked on clearing part of the forest in order to get new fertile private farms.

However, certain types of soils such as the "Black Cotton Soils" were considered by some graduates as being unsuitable to manure. These graduates were prepared to clear the forest in order to get the type of soils that would accept or respond positively to manure.

Preservation of cereals. Lack of adequate insecticides for the graduates' preservation of cereals after harvest was another problem experienced by some graduates. However, some of these graduates used traditional preservation insecticides which they claimed to be effective and nonpoisonous or harmless to human beings.

Inadequate pasture. Some graduates kept their livestock in the forests where there could be adequate pasture for grazing. Because of the droughts as well as the large numbers of livestock in the village, there was a shortage of pasture for the animals. To some graduates who believed that pasture was only planted by God, the problem of shortage of pasture could not be alleviated. Most of the graduates who shared this kind of belief claimed that they had not learned anything from the program concerning the planting of pasture. However, they considered the transferring of the livestock to the forest was a way of alleviating the shortage of pasture. For example, two graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing said they usually transferred their livestock to the forest during the dry season.

Planting of trees. Some graduates had planted some trees around their houses. Some of the trees were doing well. But others had died. It was somehow difficult to look after the newly planted trees especially during the dry season when livestock grazed all over the village. The plants could be destroyed by either livestock or irresponsible children. During the 1983/84 rainy season every villager was directed by the village government to prepare about ten holes around houses ready for planting trees. Then after thousands of holes had been prepared, the village government sent a 10 ton truck and a tractor with a trailer to fetch some seedlings from a neighbouring village. Unfortunately the vehicles returned to the village without any seedlings. The disappointed villagers as a whole were told that the neighbouring village did not have the seedlings needed.

Hygienic practices. It has also been revealed that due to cholera outbreak in the village in 1982/83, the graduates were directed by the village government to have a 'kichanja,' pits for garbage disposal and to drink boiled water. During the cholera crisis, the graduates prepared these things, used them and drank boiled water. They said they did this in order to prevent themselves from the attack of the disease. However, after cholera had been wiped out in the village, most graduates ignored using these things. The major problem with the graduates was their vision of their enemy. To them, the enemy (cholera) was no longer in Mlowa Barabarani. It had gone to an unknown distant place. But they did not know when their enemy would go back to their village. The following sub-section presents the graduates' aspirations and expectations of the program and life.

The Graduates' Aspirations and Expectations of the Program and Life

Graduates' life. From the graduates' perspectives presented in this chapter, some graduates said their life was better than it had been before they joined the program. For example, one of the graduates involved in the cross-informant interviewing said:

> My present life is good. The kind of life I had in the past is now outdated. For example, after we have been taught modern agriculture, we cultivate well. I would like to learn those things which I failed to understand in the past. I want to know all those subjects; for example, English, Kiswahili (difficult Kiswahili) because my colleagues have reached a higher level in these subjects. I would also like to understand. I do not like to remain behind. [An ex-elementary school grade 2]

Another graduate stated:

> Life at present is good because there are many things to learn such as cleanliness. In the past there was no cleanliness but dirt. For example, some people did not want to wash their clothes. We smeared ourselves with 'nkusi' [soaked brown soil]. We also smeared our clothes with 'nkusi.' We twisted our long hair. Today we see this as dirt. Nowadays we wash our clothes and everything. But before I joined the program, I normally smeared myself with 'nkusi.' I stopped doing it after I had enrolled in the program. [The graduate had no formal schooling at all during his childhood.]

A third graduate (an ex-elementary school grade 4) in the cross-informant said:

> My life is now good. In the past we did not understand what the program was all about. Today we learn and understand the knowledge we receive from the program such as socialism and self-reliance. You can read from a book, and you will understand the importance of using certain foodstuff and you go and use it.

Several other graduates in the cross-informant interviewing said their life was better than it had been before they had enrolled in the program. One of them said, "From the program I have understood the importance of having a balanced diet. This is very good knowledge. I have also learned reading." Another example is that of a graduate who said, ". . . the kind of life I had in the past was just like being in darkness. But now I see 'nuru' [light] in my life." Further, another graduate said, ". . . we are now learning from adult education program. The program helps me because I receive very good knowledge." Furthermore, one of the graduates said that she had developed herself educationally. As such, she claimed that she knew everything. The last one, although not the least, said, "Today we like one another in the village. Before the program began, we did not." On the whole, all the 12 graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing said they had a better life than the kind of life they had before they enrolled in the program. Most graduates said the education they had received from the program was worthwhile.

Aspiration for leadership positions. From the in-depth study, it has become clear that some graduates aspired for leadership positions at the village, district, regional and national levels. Among the graduates who participated in the cross-informant interviewing, three said they would contest for leadership positions at the village level, two at the district level, two at the regional level and three said they would contest at the national level. The rest of the graduates were either undecided or unprepared to contest. Those who said they were not ready to contest claimed that they were not prepared to do so because they had not achieved full literacy.

Expectations for employment. From the cross-informant interviewing, five graduates expected to be employed in the public service after achieving level VI of the program. Six graduates said they did not and one said he was undecided.

Summary

In summing up, it has become clear that the graduates of the program had received their education through three programs in three different phases. The programs included the Mlowa Barabarani community which provided the graduates with informal education. The informal education provided by the community had an influence on the life of the graduates when they first enrolled in the functional and post-functional literacy programs and thereafter. The second program was that of the village government which was responsible for socio-economic development through campaigns and/or directives. This program played an important part in bringing some of the overt and covert changes in the village as presented in this chapter. The third program included the functional and post-functional literacy programs which provided the graduates with formal education. These two formal education programs also had an impact on the lives of the graduates.

Further, the period through which the graduates received both informal and formal education from these programs could be divided into three phases as shown in Figure 11. The first phase covers the graduates' socialization period prior to 1971 villagization of Mlowa Barabarani. During the first phase, the graduates received

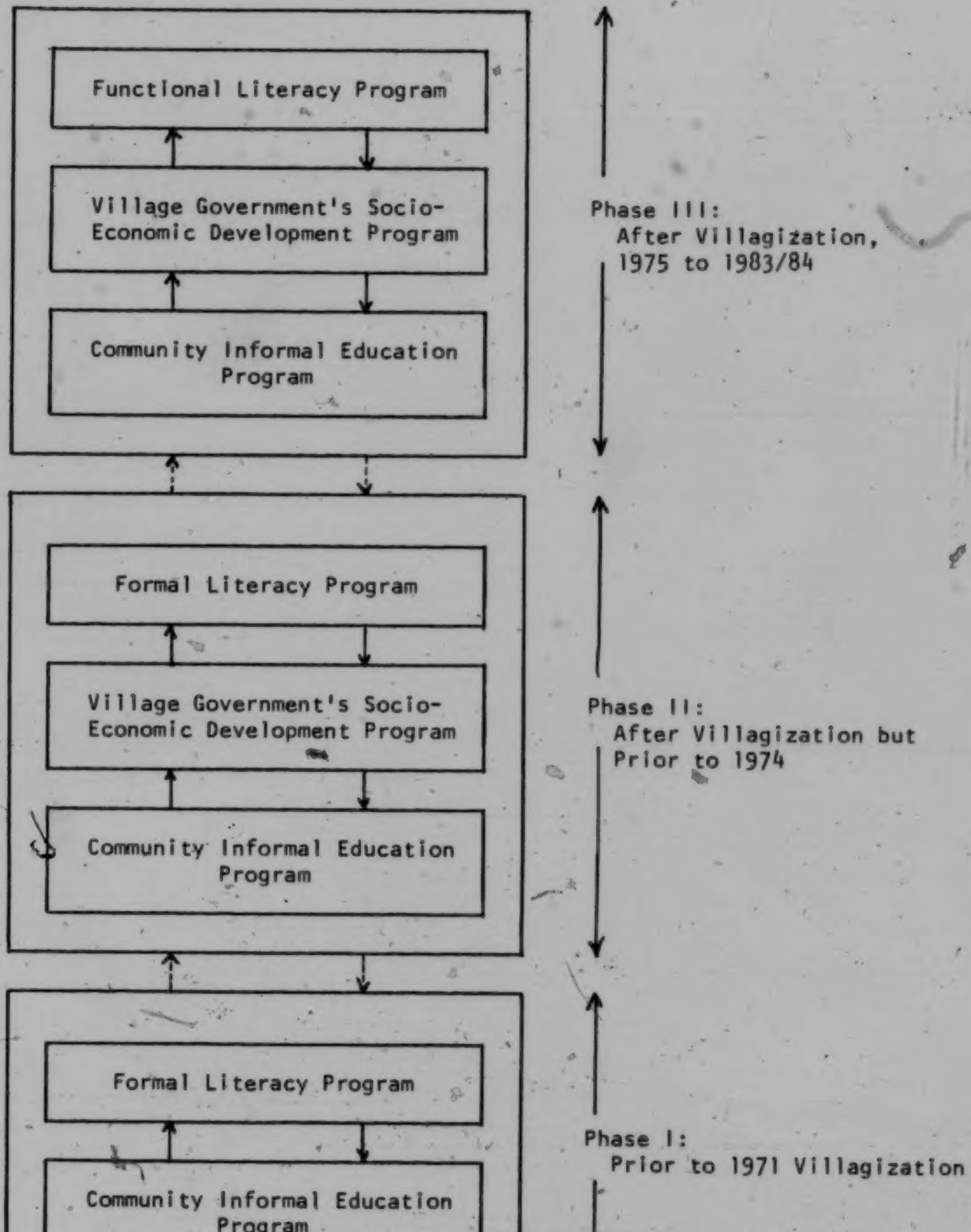
Functional Literacy Program
Village Government's Socio-Economic Development Program
Community Informal Education Program
Phase III: After Villagization, 1975 to 1983/84
Formal Literacy Program
Village Government's Socio-Economic Development Program
Community Informal Education Program
Phase II: After Villagization but Prior to 1974
Formal Literacy Program
Community Informal Education Program
Phase I: Prior to 1971 Villagization

Figure 11. The Graduates' Acquisition of Education through Various Programs in Phases at Mlowa Barabarani Village

their informal and formal education mainly through the village community and the formal adult literacy programs respectively. The second phase includes the period after villagization but prior to 1974. After villagization the graduates received their informal and formal education through the community, formal adult literacy programs and the village government campaigns and/or directives. The third phase begins from 1975 to the time of this study when formal literacy programs in the village were organized under a concept of 'functional literacy.' During the third phase, the graduates continued to receive their informal and formal education through the community, functional and post-functional literacy and the village government socio-economic development programs respectively.

The arrows in Figure 11 represent interactions between the various programs within the same phases. In terms of learning, the graduates learned from these programs concurrently. The dotted lines with arrows in the figure represent interactions between the programs in the three different phases. In terms of learning, the graduates still associated and/or retained some of their learning they had acquired through these different programs and the three phases.

The themes emerging from the graduates' perspectives which are of interest to this study include the contextual influence on the graduates' learning and the impact or the effect that the education had on the lives of the graduates. These two themes form the major parts of the graduates' perspectives. The next chapter deals with data analysis or the researcher's interpretations, summary, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings.

Chapter VI

DATA ANALYSIS (OR INTERPRETATION)

This study attempted to understand the rural graduates' perspectives of the post-functional literacy curriculum. The emphasis in the study was on the effect the curriculum had on the lives of its graduates. Specifically, the study focussed on the contextual influence on the graduates' learning and the impact of the program on the graduates' lives overtly and covertly.

References to the literature reviewed in Chapter II will be made where appropriate. References will also be made to additional reviewed literature where applicable. The questions used in the study are reviewed in the next section.

Guiding Questions

The researcher's data analysis or interpretation will be presented basically in light of the themes that emerged from the graduates' perspectives, not directly as answers to each of the guiding questions. These questions are reviewed because they formed a basis for the research. The guiding questions as stated in the introductory part of this dissertation were:

1. What are the graduates' cultural backgrounds prior to the enrollment in the functional and/or post-functional literacy program?
2. Why do rural adults enrol in these programs?
3. Are the adults involved in planning their learning?

4. What do these adults learn from these programs?

5. Which contextual aspects in the classrooms, the CEC as well as the physical village community settings and interactions influence the adult graduates' perspectives?

6. What do the graduates do with their education?

7. What do the graduates perceive as being the strengths and/or weaknesses of the program?

8. How do the graduates perceive the need to improve the post-functional literacy program.

Educational programs as Werner (1977) puts it, have a variety of meanings for students and other actors in the classroom situations. In this case, each graduate brought to the program perspectives which were individual. These perspectives were based on the graduate's cultural background experiences acquired prior to the enrollment in the program and thereafter. Although not every graduate's perspectives will be examined, attempts are made to interpret those major perspectives or beliefs, values, expectations and behaviours expressed by the graduates in this study.

The Contextual Influence on the Graduates' Learning

Although the perspectives of the graduates in this study indicated individuality concerning the post-functional literacy curriculum, the graduates' learning in the village was influenced by various contextual factors. While some graduates expressed their concerns regarding these factors, others in some cases did not, or they held different opposing viewpoints.

Acquisition of Literary Skills/ Knowledge

It was indicated from the data that the use of literacy skills in the community influenced some graduates to enroll in the program. Their reasons for enrolling in the program were based on their anticipated uses of the new learnings which were related "to a coherent area of activity or performance" (Knox, 1977, p. 406). Their intent in enrolling in the program was to modify their performance. Some graduates, for example, enrolled in the program because they had not been satisfied with their behaviours of signing official documents by using their thumb prints. Other graduates' expectations from the program were to receive knowledge and skills that they could use in their daily life in the village and be self-sufficient in food. They did not expect to be employed in the public service because they were aware that even some of the grade 7 elementary and grade 12 secondary school leavers could not find jobs.

However, some graduates' expectations were higher. They expected after achieving level VI of the post-functional literacy program to be employed probably in the public services. They had living examples of some people who had salaried jobs in the village after they had studied in literacy programs.

Theoretical Season

After having been enrolled in the program, some graduates perceived the theoretical season to be short. This season was scheduled to begin on May 1 and run through to November. During the season, the pupils were expected to attend classes three times a week from 3:30

to 5:30 p.m. Because of unexpected emergence of birds which might eat up the crops, sometimes the practical season had to be extended to enable the graduates to accomplish harvesting. As such, it was difficult, if not impossible, to cover the planned curriculum within a limited time. The number of subjects to be taught in the post-functional literacy program, for example, did not seem to match with the time available to the adult learners. Adults attending classes were part time and not full time learners. This raises questions such as should the number of subjects taught to adults be equated to that taught to school children who were full time students? Do the adults have the time? Are there adequate resources?

National Adult Education Literacy Examinations

Some graduates enrolled in the post-functional literacy program were very much concerned with the lack of National Adult Education Literacy Examination feedback. Most of the graduates who had sat for these examinations several times had not been informed of their examination results. None of them had been awarded a literacy certificate. According to the list of informants obtained by the researcher from the CEC's attendance registers, all the graduates who participated in this study were labelled as having achieved level IV. But most of them were not sure of the levels they had reached. Some had asked their teachers to give them their results, unfortunately their enquiries had been in vain. One graduate, for instance, said he had decided to remain silent. He believed the teachers would probably give them the results whenever they were made available by those concerned.

The failure to give feedback of the examination results to the graduates raises several questions. What was the purpose of administering these examinations to the pupils of the program? For whose benefit were these examinations: the learners' or the examiner's or for both? Should the examination results simply end up in statistical bureau or archives? Examination results form an important feedback to learners as Knox (1977, p. 450) points out:

> Adults learn more effectively when they receive feedback about how well they are progressing. . . . Feedback about current performance helps learners locate themselves on a scale of progress in the educational activity. . . . Immediate feedback, recognition, and reward help shape and reinforce new learning. Positive reinforcement (reward) is far more effective than negative reinforcement (punishment).

Further, some graduates labelled as level IV pupils sat for literacy examination(s) in 1958. They had never sat for any National Adult Education Literacy Examinations since then. The criteria used to enroll the graduates in this category in the post-functional literacy program remained unclear. From the data, it was also revealed that some of the graduates registered in the post-functional literacy curriculum had been studying either under the trees or in the churches during the 1983 theoretical season. From the CEC's administrative point of view, the literacy pupils who studied under the trees or in the churches were those who had achieved neither level III nor level IV of the literacy program. However, the CEC's enrollment records of the literacy graduates remained obscure.

Physical Classroom Setting

Physical classroom setting also influenced the graduates' learning. For example, a classroom setting might have been a new experience to those graduates who had studied under the trees or in the churches before they enrolled in the post-functional literacy program. Second, the use of the classroom at the CEC was appreciated by some graduates. Other graduates preferred to continue attending classes conducted under the trees or in the churches near their respective homes. Although some graduates said the chairs they used at the CEC were low and unsuitable to adults, others thought it was better to have them than to have none.

The Content of the Program

The program content or problem areas and/or social roles also influenced the graduates' learning (Smith et al., 1970). Most graduates said what they learned was related to their environment and daily life. The learning of the 3Rs, modern agricultural methods, particularly the growing of the drought resistant millet in rows, health and political education were areas commonly cited by the graduates as being beneficial to them. This view supports the UNESCO's hypothesis reported by Bataille (1976) that the more the content is centred on the problems encountered by the workers in their daily productive activities, the more effective is the functional literacy training.

Literacy Text Books and Stationery

Some graduates expressed their concerns regarding shortages of literacy text books and stationery. These form part of the important resources which facilitate learning. In the process of learning, the individuals interact with some of these external sources of information or subject matter content (Knox, 1977). As Knox (1977, p. 411) stresses, "the effectiveness of adult learning depends in part on the availability, appropriateness and effectiveness of such resources for learning." In regard to appropriateness of the literacy text books which were used, most graduates indicated that they liked those books which provided them with both reading skills and the kind of knowledge they needed in their daily life. In this respect the graduates' perspectives support the UNESCO hypothesis as reported by Bataille (1976, p. 43) that the more the content and instructional literacy material take into account the cultural environment of the learners and "presented in their mother tongue or a language close to their own," the more effective is the functional literacy training. Effective adult learning as Knox (1977, p. 465) suggests, "typically entails an active search for meaning in which new learnings build on current competence." For example, one of the Ministry of National Education literacy books which was examined by the researcher at the CEC had several health education concepts integrated in the text. The book was titled Jifunze Kusoma: Utunzaji Bora wa Jamaa (1970) (Learn to Read: Better Ways of Taking Care of a Family). It included concepts concerning the importance of having a balanced diet, a 'kichanja,' drinking boiled water, a pit for garbage disposal, clean latrine and a mosquito net.

Another Ministry of National Education literacy book examined by the researcher was titled Jifunza Kusoma: Kilimo Bora Cha Mahindi (1973) (Learn to Read: Better Ways of Growing Maize). The text of the book had suggestions on how to grow maize as well as the importance of using an oxen plough for cultivation. In that book there was also an elaborate picture showing a person cultivating a farm by using a plough drawn by oxen. A book on how to grow rice was also examined by the researcher. Most graduates seemed to like the books. However, the government had advised people in those areas receiving moderate and/or minimal rainfall to grow drought resistant crops. Maize and rice are not drought resistant crops. The relevance of the graduates' learning how to grow these crops could only be seen if it was for the purpose of widening their horizon.

The graduates' interests in reading story books were divided. Some liked them because they wanted to learn how other people outside their village lived. Others did not. They argued that an understanding of other people's lives was none of their concern. Story books other than those about people in particular did not seem to be liked. These were perceived as irrelevant to their needs and situation. However, evidence has shown that adult learners do not have any reason or motivation to learn meaningless material (Cross, 1981). Cross adds that the adult learners lack the rationale and the motivation to learn such material because they have no way of organizing and connecting it to previously stored material in their memory.

Teaching/Learning Strategy

The teaching/learning strategy used by some teachers was another area of some graduates' concerns. According to some graduates' perspectives, reading dominated the pupils' classroom activities for the entire theoretical season. It could be argued that reading practice is needed. But it should be done without the monotony of repeating exactly what had been done before (Thorndike, 1928, cited in Bowren et al., 1977). Many educators Bowren et al. (1977) cite Bauer (1966), Buchanan (1967) and Chapman (1965):

> . . . stress the importance of developing reading and handwriting simultaneously. . . . The rationale for this is that one of the most satisfying experiences available to the illiterate adult is to write his name. Such positive reinforcement may be the inducement for the insecure learner to attend the next class meeting. (Bowren et al., 1977, p. 181)

Class Discussions

Some graduates expressed their concerns about the lack of discussions in the class. A discussion or a discussion group in the class seems vital. The purpose of a discussion group, as Kidd (1959) puts it, is to enable the learners to share experience and search for truth. When there is no discussion in class, new ideas gained by the learners could be blocked by "tedious repetition of the texts" (von Freyhold in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 163). von Freyhold describing a literacy class which he observed in Dar-es-Salaam, for example, says: "Whatever the contents and merits of the books used, there was no discussion about them and the tedious repetition of the texts soon blocked any ideas the readers might have gained from them" (von Freyhold in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 163).

Moreover, mere listening, reading and discussion are inadequate to make the peasants or the learners use their newly acquired (knowledge) skills effectively (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 140). Something of a practical nature that goes beyond the classroom discussion is needed: ". . . when such discussions are tied up with some production process, then things take a different turn" (Kassam & Masisi, 1978, p. 140).

Fast Paced or Complex or Unusual

Some graduates could not cope with some of their teachers' teaching/learning strategies which they thought were fast paced or complex or unusual. As Knox (1977, p. 411) points out, ". . . for older adults time limits and pressures tend to reduce learning performance. Optimal learning performance is more likely when learners can proceed at their own pace." Cross (1981) also suggests that information should be presented to the students at a pace that allows mastery in order to strengthen the original registration of that information in the memory of the students. Cross further suggests that one idea should be presented at a time in order to minimize the competing intellectual demands and that will aid the original comprehension.

Participation in Economic Activities/ Class Attendance

Some graduates' participation in some economic activities during the theoretical season could have contributed to poor class attendance at the CEC. For example, some of the graduates worked as nightwatchmen. They still worked during the day time and attended the evening literacy classes. Others went to towns or city searching for paid casual employment during the dry season. Some went to the forest from time to time to graze their livestock. There could also be some who failed to attend classes due to unexpected and uncontrolled circumstances in the family circle such as sickness and social events (Mueller, 1940). However, under the class 'udoba' by-laws some graduates who failed to attend classes without good reason were asked to pay 'udoba' (fines). Negative reinforcement seemed to have been more emphasized than positive reinforcement (Lefrancois, 1972). Some graduates were in favour of these by-laws. They argued that without them some graduates would perhaps not attend the classes. Those who were against these class by-laws said they were conditioning the graduates to think about the 'udoba' (fines) only. However, dependence on the class 'udoba' by-laws alone might not make the graduates attend classes regularly. If the graduates did, they would probably do so simply because of avoiding the 'udoba' (fines). But their presence in the class would not necessarily make them learn anything worthwhile from the program. Regular class attendance of the graduates would not necessarily motivate them to learn. The emphasis put on the collection of the 'udoba' (fines) from the graduates who failed to attend classes could do more harm than good to them. As one graduate said, sometimes the graduates could say, "let them come and collect their 'udoba' (fines), but we are not going to attend classes." Other graduates pointed out that to collect the 'udoba' (fines) from individuals who did not understand the importance of the program was useless.

Further, Crone (1978, p. 118) points out that the problem of the potential illiterate adult learner is

> . . . not lack of interest in learning. Rather it is the nature and content of what is to be learned and the benefit perceived by the learner that will make program participation seem appealing or unappealing. The key to motivation lies in the potential learner. . . . we, from outside cannot move anyone to do anything. Initial curiosity may attract people to a program. But without true motivation and commitment, based on perceived and highly valued benefits, the curiosity will soon turn to disinterest and dropping out.

As Lefrancois (1972, p. 297) suggests:

> . . . teachers should be much more concerned with learning than with discipline, and that in most cases when the first is dealt with effectively and in an interesting manner, the second does not become a problem.

Furthermore, some graduates said the 'udoba' (fines) were used for buying exercise books for the benefit of the class. Others said they did not know how the money was used. This could not only create suspicions on the teachers or the 'udoba' collectors but also mistrust between the graduates and their teachers. In order to clear these suspicions of the teachers and mistrust between the graduates and the teachers, there should be some guidelines to help the 'udoba' (fines) collectors to do their job and account for the money collected.

Physical Setting Outside the CEC

The physical setting outside the CEC also had an influence on the graduates' learning. However, what the graduates learned from inside and outside the classroom was often in conflict. The graduates' learning of the importance of using an oxen plough for cultivation and the sight of almost abandoned oxen ploughs outside the CEC could serve as two typical examples of conflicting learning experiences. It was evident from the data that the new idea of using oxen ploughs was not compatible with the values of the villagers in general. Compatibility as Rogers and Shoemaker (1971, p. 22) put it, "is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the existing values, past experiences, and needs of the receivers." From the graduates' perspectives, some still believed that the use of oxen for cultivation was brutal. It was also evident that with the emergence of a tractor which was usually parked within the CEC's compound, some graduates seemed to have preferred the use of the tractor for cultivation to oxen ploughs. Some graduates, for example, had hired the tractor for cultivation on their private farms. Others considered a possibility of hiring it for cultivation on their private farms and even for transportation of manure to their private distant farms.

The Village Government's Socio-Economic Development Program

The village government's socio-economic development program also had some influence on the graduates' learning. Through this program, some graduates learned and/or others relearned the importance of having latrines, trees planted in the village and drought resistant millet planted in rows. In regard to planting millet in rows, first, most graduates began doing it on the village millet communal farm. Later on, some graduates started planting drought resistant millet in rows on their private farms. Most graduates did this under the close supervision of the village government.

However, some graduates planted the millet in rows only on their private farms adjacent to the millet communal farms. The large sizes of some of the graduates' private farms located in areas other than that adjacent to the millet communal farm, were given as reasons for not planting the millet in rows. As Rogers (1962, p. 130) points out, the rate of adoption of an innovation is generally affected by its complexity as perceived by the individuals of a social system. Second, these graduates argued that they had not been taught about the importance of planting millet in rows. They said they had simply heard the village government leaders talking about it. These graduates seemed to have been exposed to the innovation but lacked "complete information about it" (Rogers, 1962, p. 81). They were aware of the innovation of planting millet in rows, for instance, however, the innovation had not motivated them "to seek further information" (p. 81). Third, the graduates argued that they had not seen the results from planting the millet in rows to justify doing the tasks involved. This seemed to relate to the problem of "profitability" (Rogers, 1962, p. 136). According to Rogers (1962, p. 136), "profitability is the difference between economic returns from adoption of an innovation and the innovation's economic cost."

The village government's introduction of a variety of crops grown on the village communal farms other than millet and groundnuts had some influence on the graduates' learning. For example, cassava and grapes which were among the crops grown on the village communal farms, had been accepted and grown by some graduates on their respective private farms. However, other graduates and the villagers as a whole did not seem to like growing any of these crops. This is based purely on the researcher's observations and viewpoints given by some people other than the graduates. For instance, the researcher's word of praise on February 7, 1984 to a group of villagers sitting on a stationary hired tractor with a trailer was met with puzzling remarks: "hiki sio chakula, ni chalula cha nguruwe" (this is not food, it is pig's food). These villagers hired the tractor with a trailer to get their cassava to their respective homes for personal consumption. The cassava had been harvested from the communal farm. Some of the villagers' remarks were reflected in their behaviour as described by the chairman of the village government during the interview conducted by the researcher on February 10, 1984. The chairman, pointing out the problems involved, said:

> There are problems in implementing these kinds of plans, for example, last Monday, I found some people on the cassava communal farm preparing very little holes like the ones prepared for planting millet. Then they planted cassava into those holes. When planting, some of them turned the cassava cuttings upside down. We called them, we asked them to sit down and we began educating them. We harvested some cassava and showed them how big the crop was. Later on, we distributed the cassava and they ate it.

There could be several reasons as to why these villagers planted cassava cuttings upside down into the little holes on the communal farm. First, some believed cassava was good for pigs' food and not for them. To the contrary, there were a lot of cassava theft reports when the village was experiencing food shortages between January and April, 1984. Second, they planted the cassava cuttings in that way because they lacked technical knowhow. On the other hand, it could be argued that they had the technical knowhow because they had done it before. Third, if they had the technical knowhow, it could be argued that they did it deliberately because they believed the communal farms belonged to the village chairman and the secretary. Fourth, if they acted upon their belief that the communal farms belonged to these two individuals, then it could be argued that their participation in the cassava communal farm activities was simply aimed at avoiding the 'udoba' (fines). These villagers might have done this in order to express their resentments towards communal work. To some graduates, for example, there had been too much communal work.

If these communal farms were to serve not only as productive units but also as demonstration plots from which the graduates could learn new innovations, something should be done to educate the participants. The graduates should not only work as labourers on these communal farms, but they should also be helped to understand the rationale and the techniques used in growing a variety of crops. The understanding of the rationale and the techniques used could assist the graduates in growing a variety of those crops on both the communal and private farms. Further, this could probably be possible if the reward and/or punishment system of the 'udoba' by-laws was changed. There should, if possible, be a shift in the emphasis within the system. For example, instead of punishment under the 'udoba' by-laws being emphasized, reward or positive reinforcement could be emphasized. Those villagers who might demonstrate good performance on both the communal and private farms could be rewarded. The villagers could also be educated and/or re-educated on the whole question of communal ownership in order to secure their full participation in learning as well as in communal work.

The Village Community

The village community as a whole also played a role in influencing the graduates' acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes through the informal education program. An informal education is the life-long process whereby people acquire "attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influence and resources" in their environment (United Republic of Tanzania Report, 1978, p. 33). Through this program, some graduates had learned how to do some carving, pottery, traditional cereals' preservation methods and the preparation of beehives. From the graduates' perspectives, some graduates said they learned carving and pottery from the post-functional literacy program. This was made possible after the graduates had asked the teacher(s) to include these handicraft subjects in the program. Some of these graduates said they would have liked these subjects to be included in the program for economic reasons. They argued that if they produced any items from handicraft activities, they could either use or sell them. The money accrued from the sale of these items could be used for the benefit of the program.

If these handicraft subjects were integrated into the post-functional literacy program, there could be no problem in obtaining nonhuman and human resources from within the village. For example, some graduates knew carving, pottery and how to prepare beehives. Given the opportunity, some of these could teach other adult pupils.

The graduates had also learned informally about the causes of various things such as diseases, rain and taboos. They had also learned the consequences of non-conformity to established societal norms and taboos. Their established beliefs or values which helped them in making various decisions were based partly on this knowledge that they had acquired informally. Some of their beliefs or values which assisted them in making decisions were partly based on the knowledge they had acquired from other programs. Although it is not easy for educators or change agents to learn the belief system of other people, as Niehoff (1967, p. 37) suggests, if change is to be brought about, some minimum of understanding is essential. Niehoff (1967) identifies three major kinds of beliefs or attitudes which normally affect economic change programs. These beliefs include supernatural, medical and attitudinal. The second part of data analysis analyzes the impact which the education had on the lives of the graduates.

The Impact of Education on the Graduates' Lives

The education acquired by the graduates had, to some degree, an impact on their lives. The impact which the education had on the graudates' lives overtly and/or covertly is interpreted here in terms of social, cultural, political and economic aspects. These aspects are overlapping and are interrelated.

Social Aspects

Some graduates said that before they had joined the program, they were afraid of party, government and religious leaders as well as literate people. Other graduates said they were not. Those who were afraid of these people believed that if they associated with them they would have been tricked or bodily harmed or imprisoned.

Others said they were afraid of these people because they had bad experience with some government officials. For example, one said he was at one time slapped on his face by a tax collector during the colonial era. The reason for being slapped on the face was that he had not paid his tax. It is generally understood that "the relations between the common village people and government officials are characterized by considerable distance, reserve and distrust" (Dube, 1958, p. 2 as cited in Rogers, 1969, p. 29). However, from some graduates' perspectives, they had reasons for keeping the social distance, being reserved and showing signs of distrust. Any rational villager who had been slapped on the face by an official and without knowing the legal procedures, would have simply kept quiet and avoided any association with that type of person(s). It was only after the graduates had enrolled in the program that they said they stopped fearing these leaders and literates. Most of them stopped fearing them after realizing that some of their fears were baseless. Others said they no longer feared them because they had become literate. As such, nobody could trick them.

The social relationship within family circles in some cases had been good prior and after the graduates' enrollment in the program. Some graduates said their social relationship with their families before their enrollment had not been satisfactory. Some graduates said before they enrolled in the program, they cared to do their own thing. They were, for example, unconcerned about their children's school performance. But after they had enrolled in the program, they began assisting their children in some skills and subject areas in which they had some competence. Unfortunately, they said some of their friends had stopped visiting them regularly. They believed their illiterate friends had not been visiting them regularly because they were literate. However, they said they continued visiting their illiterate friends. They said they had also continued exchanging visits and gifts with some of their relatives and friends.

The education received by the graduates also had an impact on the lives of some graduates on social aspects related to religious leadership. For example, some of the graduates had been appointed "Walimu wa Kanisa" (teachers for the church—catechists). Their catechist role had put them in a leadership position in matters concerning religious instruction. Some, for instance, provided religious instruction to primary school children, adults who were being prepared to be baptised and/or to be confirmed as Christians. They also preached the word of God in their respective churches. In addition to this, they attended various religious seminars organized by their religious denominations. Some of these seminars were held outside their village. This somehow helped the catechists to enrich their experiences by travelling. While some catechists believed their voluntary services to the church were part of their responsibility, others thought that they interfered with their daily economic activities. Some of those who believed their voluntary services were interfering with their economic activities were seeking possibilities of being relieved of these duties from the church. Although religious matters concerning individuals' faith could be sensitive, any critical catechist would probably understand the economics of division of labour involved. For any devoted voluntary catechist, to provide religious instruction to school children and other people, attend religious seminars, work as a casual labourer on other people's farms and participate in the daily economic activities was difficult if not impossible.

Further, the education received by the graduates also had some impact on their beliefs about the causes of various diseases and the use of social services provided from within and outside the village. While some graduates still believed that diseases were brought by God, others believed that they were brought by germs. Those graduates who believed that it was God who brought diseases seemed to be lacking the "idea emanating from modern medicine" (Niehoff, 1966, p. 37). As such, they used the knowledge which they had so that they could "avoid a belief vacuum" (Niehoff, 1966, p. 37). Further, Niehoff points out that individuals who lack scientific concepts "lean more heavily on supernatural explanations" (pp. 37-38). However, the graduates who said God brought diseases could not substantiate how God did it. Moreover, they could not identify the kinds of diseases that were brought by God. As such, it was evident that they lacked "knowledge of the germ theory" (Niehoff, 1966, p. 108). Since these graduates did not want to leave important problems such as sickness unexplained, they relied on religious ideas (p. 108).

However, all graduates, with the exception of one, said if they fell sick, they would go to a hospital. Their beliefs were that at the hospital patients were medically examined in order to ascertain what their problems were before they were treated. Second, the medicines dispensed by hospitals were better than those offered by traditional doctors. The medicines from the hospitals were believed to be better than the traditional ones because they could cure the diseases. As such, most graduates said they would only go to see traditional doctors as their last resort. From the researcher's observations, it was evident that the graduates and the villagers in general were using the dispensary at the CEC fully. There were times when the dispensary ran short of chloroquine and aspirin tablets.

The exceptional graduate said his going either to see a traditional doctor or to a hospital depended entirely on the kind of diseases he had. He believed that certain diseases were still incurable by modern medicines. Diseases such as asthma, for example, he said could only be cured probably by using traditional medicines.

The education that the graduates received from the program also had an impact on their lives qualitatively. Most graduates said their life was better than it had been before they enrolled in the program. Some graduates viewed their previous life prior to their enrollment as being in darkness. After joining the program, they said they were seeing light in their life. Others said they had developed themselves educationally. As such, they knew everything. Although nobody in the world knows everything, this was how some graduates viewed themselves to be. Some pointed out, for example, that one could read a book about the importance of using certain foodstuffs and then the person would apply that knowledge by eating that foodstuff. Others said prior to their enrollment in the program, they behaved like children. Everything looked fine to them even if it was not so. For instance, sometimes they drank a lot of liquour, became intoxicated and insulted other people. However, they said what they learned from the program had given them experience about life. Because of this experience, they were then seeing things from a different perspective. Some graduates said before they enrolled in the program they were dirty because they smeared themselves and their clothes with "nkusi" (soaked brown soil). It was quite a fashion but they stopped doing it after they had enrolled in the program. Some said they did not like one another in the village prior to their enrollment in the program. But after joining the program, they did. From the data, it was evident that the program had an impact on the lives of the graduates. It enabled them to acquire new social skills concerning how to relate with other people. It also helped them to understand themselves as persons and they became concerned about their health such as diets and cleanliness.

Cultural Aspects

Most graduates said they learned the importance of having a latrine from the post-functional literacy program. Since they lived near the bushes before they moved into the Ujamaa village, they continued attending their call of nature in the nearby bushes. A few graduates claimed to have built and used latrines prior to their moving into the village. But most graduates' actual construction and use of latrines came about after the village government had issued a directive requiring every villager to have one. The village government took this step in order to prevent any hazardous health conditions that might have occurred in the village. Although some graduates did not apply their acquired knowledge until they were directed by the village government to build the latrines, their continuous use of these latrines indicated the impact of education on their lives. The graduates said they could no longer attend their call of nature in the bushes because they were distant. If they did, they would spread diseases.

The effect of education on the lives of the graduates was also indicated by the graduates' construction of pits for garbage disposal, "vichanja" and their conception of drinking boiled water. Most graduates said they learned the importance and the rationale of having these things from the program. However, most graduates did not have them until the village government had directed them to have them. The village government was prompted to take such a step during the cholera outbreak in the village in 1982/83. After cholera had disappeared, most graduates said they had stopped using these things. They believed their enemy (cholera) had gone away from their village. Some graduates pointed out that traditionally they only boiled water for bathing and not for drinking. They boiled water for bathing because they did not like to have cold baths. As Niehoff (1966, p. 108) points out, when people adopt "a new practice without being convinced of its utility," but simply because they want to avoid punishment, they "will almost invariably abandon it the moment the pressure is taken away."

In regard to the education's impact on the graduates' attitudes towards food habits, most graduates said they were not allowed by their parents to eat certain foodstuffs during their childhood. It was believed, for example, that any child who ate eggs would experience problems during circumcision. However, after the graduates had learned from the program concerning the importance of having a balanced diet, they said they began allowing their children to eat different kinds of foodstuffs including the ones which were considered taboos. These graduates argued that their parents did not allow them to eat these foodstuffs during their childhood because they were ignorant. Since they had learned from the program and understood the importance of having a balanced diet, they believed the taboos about certain foodstuffs were useless. The researcher's observations were that a lot of eggs were being sold by either adults or the villagers' children to the CEC's staff. On the basis of the graduates' positive attitudes towards these foodstuffs which were once considered taboos, it could be said their education had an impact on their lives covertly.

Further, explictly or implicitly, the graduates' education had an impact on their way of participation in cultural activities such as celebrations for circumcision, girls' puberty and harvests. Some graduates, for example, said that even after their enrollment in the program, they still continued to participate in these celebrations. Although they had continued to participate in these kinds of celebrations, they were cautious about the way in which they participated. For example, they considered the kind of teaching provided to the circumcised children by the old people to be useless. Basing this on their own experience, they were convinced that the old people used abusive language when teaching the circumcised children. They also pointed out that sometimes these children were even beaten by the old people who were taking care of them at the circumcision camps. As such, some thought that children could be helped to learn how to respect their parents and seniors without going through the circumcision camps. However, there were some graduates who still believed that the kind of learning provided to the circumcised children by the old people was worthwhile.

Some graduates who participated in these celebrations were also concerned with the celebration costs. They believed that these celebrations were very costly. In order to cut down these celebration costs, some considered sending their boys to hospitals for circumcision. After the boys had been circumcised, they could ask about two people only to take care of them. It was considered less costly to feed two than feeding about twenty people for a month as had been the case. After the circumcised children had recovered, they thought there would be no need to have any celebration for circumcision. They pointed out that they would not mind even if their relatives blamed them for not celebrating the occasion. They would just tell them that their intention was to minimize costs for the children's circumcision. However, some graduates said they were not concerned about the celebration costs. What they wanted was to eat, drink and enjoy with their friends during these celebrations.

The idea of reducing costs for various ritual celebrations such as circumcision, puberty and harvests had been discussed by some graduates in their respective classes. Some graduates said they had learned from some fellow villagers who had experienced shortages after they had used a considerable amount of food for ritual celebrations. Others said they had acquired this knowledge from some villagers who had avoided having costly ritual ceremonies. However, it is generally understood that the purpose of learning a people's culture is to understand it and not to make value judgements. But culture is not static. People constantly learn and critically adapt or reject certain aspects of culture. Adult pupils' participation in class discussions on cultural aspects could help them to critically retain some of their good culture and adapt or reject new aspects of it. From their discussions, the individual adult pupils could form their own perspectives concerning how and to what extent they should participate in these ritual celebrations. There is no point in teaching the adults modern agricultural methods aimed to increase productivity if most of what is produced is going to be used for ritual celebrations. The questions of increasing productivity and those of utilizing what is produced economically are interrelated. On the whole, class discussions on topics related to cultural aspects could possibly have an impact on the lives of the graduates as has already been indicated in the findings.

According to the graduates' perspectives, informal education brought other changes. For example, some graduates suggested to their teacher(s) the integration of pottery and carving into the program. After their suggestion had been accepted by their teacher(s) they made some items for domestic purposes. These graduates believed that they could, for instance, learn pottery and make pots for their own use. They argued that their pots would have been inexpensive and not easy to break. They also argued that their production of pots would have reduced their dependence on expensive utensils sold by shops. They said they could also sell some of their pots and use the money for buying sewing machines or for paying their teacher's honorarium.

On the teachers' part, the idea of integrating pottery and carving into the program was a revolutionary one. The tendency in educational programs has been to stress that "all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books . . ." (Nyerere, 1967, p. 11). "The knowledge and wisdom of other old people is despised, and they themselves regarded as being ignorant and of no account" (p. 11). On the basis of the graduates' beliefs in handicraft subjects, some graduates said they would like these subjects to be included in the program.

Political Aspects

From the graduates' perspectives, there was an indication that the graduates' education had an impact on their lives in terms of political consciousness. Some graduates, for instance, said "socialism and self-reliance" were among the things they learned from the program. Because of their acquired knowledge, some graduates had some aspirations to contest for various leadership positions in the village government. Those who had contested for the leadership positions in the village government said they did so because they wanted to "build socialism." Others said they contested for the positions because they were interested in learning how a government was run. Some graduates seemed to be aware of the village government's communication channels. For example, some graduates said that when they had problems, they could go and get some assistance either from a representative member of the village government or from the CCM branch office. The case of the researcher being taken to the cell leader and eventually to the CCM branch office by the interviewee for clarification could serve as an example of the impact of the education on the graduates' political consciousness.

However, there were some graduates who lacked empathy. According to Rogers (1969, p. 38), "many villagers find it difficult to picture themselves as anything other than they are." Those graduates who had no aspirations for leadership positions had reasons. Some said they were not prepared to contest for any leadership positions because their literacy skills were still inadequate. Others said they declined to do so because they were old.

The political education received by the graduates had an impact on their lives in terms of their participation in political activities. It was the political consciousness that enabled the graduates to participate as cell leaders and representative members in the village government. It was through the village government that major decisions concerning the village's socio-economic plans and implementation were made. For example, decisions concerning cooperative or communal activities such as the village shop, communal farms, the 10 ton lorry, the flour mill machine, ten oxen ploughs and the "udoba" by-laws were made by the village. The village government which made such decisions needed people who were well versed with the principles of socialism. Those people whose lives were affected by these decisions also needed an understanding of these principles of socialism. But such an understanding could be gained by the graduates through political education programs. Political education was among the subject areas suggested by the graduates to be included in the program. The inclusion of political education in the program could enable the graduates to gain an understanding by fostering "the social goals of living together and working together, for the common good" (Nyerere, 1967, p. 7). To Nyerere (1976, in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 51), adult education is "a highly political activity." As such, "politicians are sometimes more aware of this fact than educators, and therefore they do not always welcome real adult education." Paulo Freire, holding similar ideas, said in a seminar at the University of Alberta on July 22, 1984 that the thing that led to his exile from Brazil for sixteen years was not because he taught peasants to read Ba Be Bi Bo Bu or La Le Li Lo Lu, it was because he taught them "to read reality or the world in order to transform it." For example, if the villagers were made aware that malaria could be avoided, they could "demand drugs or insect spray, or teachers" (Nyerere, 1976, in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 51). They would no longer be passive human beings who accepted the life they knew (p. 51). If the people who had been aroused could not get the change they wanted, they would become "discontented—if not hostile" towards the authority considered responsible for the failure (p. 51).

Economic Aspects

It was indicated from the data that the education provided in the program had an impact on the graduates' lives in terms of their participation in economic activities. For example, some graduates had realized that after they had used all the trees for firewood and building, their village had become "as bare as a desert." Some were also aware that trees preserved moisture in the soil and served as among those factors that contributed to bringing rains to different areas. Further, where there were no trees, the graduates believed that the possibility of receiving rain decreased. Others still believed that the rain was brought either by God or by both God and the trees. Those who believed that God brought rain based their knowledge on their spiritual beliefs that it was "God who created the land, the people, water and all the things on the land."

Although most graduates had learned the importance of planting trees where there were none, they did not plant any trees until they were directed by the village government to do so. After the village government had directed all the villagers to plant trees around their houses, it also gave them the seedlings needed in order to facilitate the implementation of its directive. It could then be assumed that certain changes that required materials, in this case the seedlings, were possibly brought about by providing the villagers with the necessary materials. Sometimes the desired changes do not come about because the individuals do not have the ability or the means and/or the materials which they could use in applying their acquired knowledge. Learning about the importance of planting trees where there were none was one thing, and the question of the learner being able to afford the seedlings was quite another. For example, not a single tree was planted in the village during the 1983/84 rain season even though the villagers had prepared the holes for the purpose. The villagers could not do it because the seedlings were not made available to them by the village government. The village government's failure to provide the seedlings could result in the graduates and the villagers in general developing attitudes of "project negativism" towards new development projects (Niehoff, 1966, p. 38). According to Niehoff (p. 38), "project negativism is a type of apathy or suspicion toward development projects that is based on previous project failures."

Some graduates' failure to put manure on their private distant farms which resulted in shifting cultivation seemed to undermine the whole purpose of soil conservation in the village. The graduates' failure to put the manure on their respective farms was also based partly on their beliefs that certain types of soils such as the "Black Cotton Soils" did not need manure at all. Once the "Black Cotton Soils" were considered infertile, the graduates resorted to clearing the forest for new private farms. In other parts of the village, the soils were brown. The brown soils were considered to form a better combination with the manure than the "Black Cotton Soils." As such, some graduates said they were prepared to clear the forest where there were brown soils. They said they were ready to hire either a truck or a tractor with a trailer to get manure to their new farms.

Although the graduates and the villagers in general carried their harvests on their shoulders from their distant private farms to their respective homes, they were unable to get the manure to their farms. From the researcher's observations, the graduates and the villagers carried manure on their shoulders from their respective homes to the grape communal farm which was also distant. In light of these observations, it was possible that even if the graduates lived close to their private farms on the "Black Cotton Soils," they would not have put any manure on their private farms because of their beliefs that such soils did not need it (manure). Moreover, there were those who did not put any manure on their farms on the brown soils close to their homes. They said they did not do it because of their own laziness. The problem of shifting cultivation could possibly be alleviated if the graduates were educated about the characteristics of soils and how to manage and put manure to them regularly. The introduction of a by-law concerning this could also help.

Further, the village government's introduction of drought resistant millet such as "lulu," "sandara" and "serena" had an impact on the lives of the graduates. Traditionally, the villagers grew a different type of millet known as "lugugu." They planted this type of millet anyhow. During the thinning out, they left about 17 or 18 plants in each hole. They pointed out that some people still believed that if they left many millet plants in each hole, they could harvest a lot of food. But some graduates had realized that "lugugu" took a longer time to yield than the new type of millet.

Following the village government's adoption of the new type of millet, the villagers were required to grow drought resistant millet such as "lulu," "sandara" and "serena" only on their private farms adjacent to the millet communal farm. And these had to be planted in rows. They were only allowed to grow any other traditional millet or sorghum on their private farms around their houses or elsewhere. Some graduates said they had learned the importance of planting millet in rows from the program. They believed that by planting it in rows, thinning out and leaving two millet plants in each hole, they could harvest more food than those who had planted it anyhow. For example, some said that by planting the millet in rows on a 3 acre farm and using modern agricultural methods, they could harvest more food than what other individuals would get from a 10 acre farm on which the crop had been planted anyhow. They said it was not difficult to plant millet in rows. For instance, some said it would take an individual two days only to do it on an acre and six days on a farm of about 3 acres. From the researcher's observations, most graduates had planted their millet in rows on their private farms and had thinned them out.

The graduates who had adopted the planting of drought-resistant millet in rows seemed to have acquired both "how-to-knowledge" and "principles-knowledge" (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971, 106). According to Rogers and Shoemaker (1971, p. 106), "how-to-knowledge" consists of information which is essential to utilize the innovation properly. And the adopter should "understand what quantity of an innovation to secure" and how to use it correctly (p. 106). The "principles-knowledge" are notions such as the germ theory which underly "the functioning of vaccinations and latrines in village sanitation and health campaigns . . ." (pp. 106-107). These authors point out that it is possible for an individual to use an innovation without having "principles-knowledge." But the authors note that the individual's long range competence to make judgements concerning "future innovations is facilitated by principles-knowledge" (pp. 106-107).

However, some graduates said they planted millet in rows only on the communal farm and on their private farms adjacent to it. They said they did this simply because they had been directed by the village government to do so. On their private farms other than those adjacent to the millet communal farm, they had continued planting millet anyhow. They argued that they had continued planting millet anyhow because their private farms were large. Second, they said they had not learned anything from the program concerning the importance of planting millet in rows. They had simply heard from the village government leaders talking about it. Third, they had not seen any convincing results to make them adopt the method of planting millet in rows. Some government leaders of the village were aware that some of the villagers were not in favour of this innovation. For example, the village chairman said the majority of the villagers believed that the planting of crops in rows according to recommended spacing was "troublesome." The chairman concluded that these villagers only did it because they had been supervised by the village government. It was evident from the data that the graduates who had continued planting their crops anyhow lacked particularly the "principles-knowledge." What they had was the "how-to-knowledge" which they were using on both the millet communal farm and their private farms adjacent to it. As such, the graduates could not visualize the rationale and the profitability for planting their crops in rows. They could have probably adopted these agricultural methods fully had the use of these methods demonstrated any good results in terms of increase in productivity. But it was evident from the data that convincing results could not be made available because there were no demonstration plots.

Although the village governments' move to make all the villagers plant their crops in rows might have good intention, the approach used was that of a campaign which was accompanied by authoritarian directives. However, some research evidence indicates that campaigns are not always very successful in changing people's behaviour particularly "in the short range" (Havens and Rogers, 1961a, cited in Rogers, 1969, p. 281). It would be better for the change agents "to provide their clients with a more favorable basic attitude toward new ideas and spend fewer efforts in campaigns to secure adoption of single innovations" (p. 281). As has been said, the village government's campaigns were somehow accompanied by directives or authority. But as Rogers and Shoemaker (1971, p. 385) hypothesize:

> The rate of adoption of authority-innovation-decisions is faster by the authoritative approach than by the participative approach . . . [but] . . . the changes brought about by the authoritative approach are more likely to be discontinued than those brought about by the participative approach.

On the whole, it could be said that for those few graduates who learned and applied their knowledge in planting their millet in rows without being directed by the village government, their education, to some extent, had an impact on their lives. Those who planted their crops in rows simply because they had been directed by the village government could be viewed as if their education had little or no impact on their lives. They planted their crops in rows in order to please the authority and avoid the "udoba" (fines). When working on their private farms other than those adjacent to the millet communal farm, they did their own thing.

Although most graduates planted their millet in rows on their private farms adjacent to the millet communal farm, many acres were neither cultivated nor weeded during the 1983-84 rainy seasion. The "Black Cotton Soils" which turned muddy after the heavy rains contributed to some graduates' failure to cultivate and weed their private farms. However, most graduates cultivated and weeded their 1/2 acre plot each on the millet communal farm which was also situated on the "Black Cotton Soils." Some graduates argued that they managed to cultivate and weed their 1/2 acre plot on their millet communal farm situated on the "Black Cotton Soils" because the plots were smaller than their private farms. Because of the shortages of food in the village at that time, some graduates worked as casual labourers on their fellow villagers' private farms in order to get food or money. Some of these private farms were also situated on the "Black Cotton Soils."

It was evident from the data that some graduates owned and cultivated some land in the village and at the same time they sold "part of their labour power in order to earn a subsistence" (Baghi, 1982, p. 148). These graduates were selling their labour power to middle peasants who cultivated their own land with their family labour and hired supplementary labour for the peak season (p. 148). The graduates' sale of their labour power to some middle peasants because of shortage of food might have also contributed to their failure to cultivate and weed their private farms adjacent to the millet communal farm. These graduates were being exploited by the middle peasants in a country which aspires to bring "about an egalitarian society of peasants and workers, where all forms of exploitation are banished . . . The goal is a classless, . . . society" (SIDA Report, 1971, p. 8). But some of these graduates seemed to have been in a vicious circle, either to sell their labour power to the middle peasants and get food or not to and then starve to death.

Further, the learning that some graduates had received from the program about the use of oxen ploughs for cultivation seemed to have had an impact on their lives. Traditionally, it was considered brutal to use oxen for cultivation. As such, the villagers in general preferred doing the cultivation by themselves to using oxen ploughs. Some cattle owners sold one every year in order to get money for hiring a tractor for cultivation on their private farms. Some graduates were critical about people who held such beliefs and sold part of their livestock yearly in order to get money for hiring the village tractor. Some said such people did that because of their ignorance. They pointed out that people in other regions were using oxen ploughs and that they should follow the examples which had been set by those individuals. Since oxen consumed neither gas nor grease but grass and water, some graduates said they were inexpensive to maintain. Some pointed out that if they had money, they would have bought oxen and ploughs so that they could use them for cultivation.

In theory, the idea of using oxen ploughs for cultivation seemed to have had an impact on the graduates' lives. But in practice, none of the graduates owned and used one. Some graduates had small heads of cattle, others ran some business in butchery and earned money. But still none of them had bought an oxen plough. They all said they could not afford to. Some graduates' tendency was to get some money and hire the village tractor for cultivation on their private farms. The use of the village tractor for cultivation on the communal and private farms seemed to have dominated the use of the village government's oxen ploughs. During the research period, the village government was considering increasing the number of tractors for the village in future.

While acknowledging the advantages of using the tractor for cultivation, some of the graduates expressed their concerns that it was costly to maintain it. They thought it was cheaper to maintain the oxen for the ploughs than to maintain the tractor. Nyerere (cited by Freeman, 1982, p. 499) seems to hold similar views:

> I have been telling my own people, "We've got to change, we must mechanize, we must have better tools." But what are better tools? Not the combine harvester. If I were given enough combine harvesters for every family in Tanzania, what would I do with them? No mechanics, no spare parts . . . I shudder at the thought . . . We are using hoes. If two million farms in Tanzania could jump from the hoe to the oxen plough, it would be a revolution. It would double our standard of living, triple our product.

Although Mlowa Barabarani village obtained its tractor in 1978, it had remained without a mechanic since then. For most mechanical problems of the tractor, the village had relied on an untrained and inexperienced civil servant whose field of specialization was entirely different. The village's plan, as revealed by one of the village government leaders on December 12, 1983, was to send the civil servant to a three month course in mechanics. Although the civil servant was stationed at Mlowa Barabarani village, this person was responsible for the entire Ward with several villages. Most CEC staff talked about the way the mechanical problems of the tractor, including that of the 10 ton lorry, were mishandled by the individual. Worse still, the tractor was being driven by several unlicenced drivers/learners, mainly villagers including some of the village government leaders. It was also being used for travel and that was why it was known as the "taxi" for the village. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971, pp. 327-328) in their discussion on the consequences of innovation report similar uses of tractors in Turkey:

> The tractors were also utilized by the peasants in unanticipated ways, such as for travel to the cities. One villager drove his family by tractor from Turkey to Berlin, a distance of over 2,000 miles. (Footnote in Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971, p. 329)

From the findings and reviewed literature, it was evident that there was a lack or inadequacy of technical knowhow, spare parts and other inputs needed to maintain the village tractor at that time. As such, some graduates preferred the use of oxen ploughs to tractors. On the whole, whatever little knowledge the graduates received in agriculture seemed to have had an impact on their lives. Agriculture had not been taught at the CEC as a subject. Some graduates suggested an emphasis should be put on the teaching of agriculture.

Cereals' Preservation. There were also some indications that the graduates' acquired knowledge concerning modern methods for cereals' preservation had some impact on their lives. For example, most graduates said if they wanted to preserve their cereals, they would get the "medicines" such as actelic 2 percent from the shops. Some claimed to have been using modern preservatives in order to protect their stored cereals from being destroyed by insects. In case of failure to get these preservatives, they said they used the traditional ones such as "Mikunghuni." It was not unusual for some villagers to resort to traditional preservatives after they had failed to get any from the shops. Sometimes they used traditional ones after learning through their own experience that some of the modern ones had proved to be ineffective. A Shinyanga Regional Department of Agriculture in Tanzania, for instance, reports in a Kiswahili newspaper ("Uhuru," January 31, 1984, p. 3) that Kahama District peasants had discovered the use of ash from burned goat dung and some salt to be more effective in destroying an insect known as 'dumizi' or 'scania' than the actelic 2 percent given to them by the department of agriculture.

The use of veterinary services by the graduates was another area whereby the graduates' acquired education had an impact on their lives. From the graduates' perspectives, most graduates seemed to depend on modern medicines and technical advice given by veterinary officers. Their dependence on these services was based on their beliefs that there were no traditional doctors for livestock, only for human beings. They also believed that there were no traditional medicines for livestock. As such, they believed that local medicines for livestock had almost disappeared. In case of their poultry having problems, for example, they said they would seek advice and medicines from a veterinary officer. If they were given "medicines or tablets," they would put them into some water and then let the chickens drink it. In some cases graduates said they had invited the veterinary officer to their respective homes in order to treat their livestock. Then they paid some money to the veterinary officer for the medicines used to treat their livestock.

However, some graduates still believed that the grass for grazing their livestock was planted by God. Others said it simply grew because of rains. Their beliefs were based on their experience that they had not seen anybody in the village planting it. Further, they had not been provided with this kind of knowledge in the program either. There were some who believed that the grass was not planted by God and it did not simply grow because of rains. But it existed. The following section provides a summary of Chapter VI.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with some influences which the context had on the graduates' learning. These contextual influences included the community's informal education program, the classroom, the village government's socio-economic development program and services provided by the co-operative shop, the dispensary, the veterinary office and the village tractor.

The first part of the chapter has also analyzed the graduates' concerns and how they affected learning. The graduates' concerns centred on the inadequacy of time allotted to the program, inappropriateness of some pupils' text books, poor class attendance, the emphasis put on the class 'udoba' by-laws and the village's inability to use oxen ploughs.

The second part of this chapter has dealt with the effect which the graduates' acquired education had on their lives overtly and/or covertly. The impact that the education had on the graduates' lives has been interpreted in terms of social, cultural, political and economic aspects. The section that follows deals with the conclusions reached in the study.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to try to understand the impact which the post-functional literacy curriculum had on the lives of its graduates. This understanding was gained by the researcher through the eyes of the graduates. And on the basis of this understanding, the following conclusions were reached.

Explicitly or implicitly, the goals of the post-functional literacy program were unclear to some graduates. Those who understood the goals said they needed to acquire knowledge and skills from the program which they could use in their daily work and life in the village. Their intentions were not to get salaried jobs after reaching level VI of the program. However, there were some who expected to get employment after reaching that level of the program.

The CEC's unsatisfactory system of record keeping and the lack of National Adult Education Literacy Examination feedback to the graduates, resulted in some of these graduates re-sitting for the same examination. The lack of examination feedback to the graduates could not only be detrimental to the graduates' learning but also to the entire system of class organization. Some graduates, for instance, were unsure of the levels of the program they had reached. Others labelled as having reached levels III or IV had not even sat for this kind of examination ever since 1958. Due to lack of examination feedback, some graduates might have been recorded as having reached the same level for more than once. As such, the statistical national figure of literates could look higher than it should be because of double entry.

The time allotted to the post-functional literacy program was not in proportion to the number of subjects taught to the graduates. In principle, the post-functional literacy classes were scheduled to begin from May 1 to November. But in practice, the graduates were busy harvesting their crops between May and July. They had to harvest during that period lest their crops were destroyed by birds. From the researcher's observations, classes had not begun at the time of concluding this study May 3, 1984. Usually, the graduates were expected to attend classes three times a week from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m. This was about six hours of class attendance per week. Each graduate was expected to take about nine subjects. Some graduates expressed their concerns that the theoretical season was short compared to what they were expected to learn.

The overall total number of subjects taught in relation to time allotted to those subjects could either promote or impede the graduates' effective learning. It is an accepted fact that most adult pupils were part-time learners because they had other responsibilities to perform. For example, they participated in social, political, cultural and economic activities. In the case of the graduates at the

CEC, some had to go to the forest during the dry season to graze their livestock in turns once a month. Some went to towns and/or city to search for casual employment in order to supplement their subsistance income. The length of time they stayed in towns or city depended on the individuals and the availability of casual employment as well as their ability to save a reasonable income to take home. So some graduates could not even attend some of the classes regularly because of these other commitments.

Further, it was concluded that the graduates were only interested in learning subjects which they perceived to be beneficial. According to their suggestions, emphasis in teaching should be put on those skills and subjects which they needed. These included Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Kiswahili, Agriculture, Health Education, Political Education and Handicrafts.

In their suggestions, they also included the English language. This subject was deliberately presented to the graduates by the researcher in order to find out the graduates' reactions. If an educational program takes into account the needs of its learners as Crone (1978, p. 119) suggests, it is likely that the learners will be motivated to play an active role in it. According to Crone (1978, p. 119):

> . . . education at the community level must address the needs of villagers in their order of priority . . . not in the outsiders' order of priority. Only then will individuals be motivated to take an active part in educational programs for development.

Kidd (1971, p. 276) also points out that:

> The main reason . . . for the concentration on interests as a source for educational objectives is the close relationship

> that this seems to bear with gaining the attention of people and having them participate in educational endeavors.

Kidd (1971, p. 277) further suggests that

> Those devising a curriculum may search for contemporary life for clues to the selection of learning experiences. . . . It is now well established that learning happens with greatest efficiency where there is some similarity between the learning situation and the life situation.

The established fields of study such as mathematics and history also formed "an excellent source of learning objectives" (p. 277). Another ". . . method of developing a final profile of needs" as Bhola (1979, p. 111) suggests:

> . . . would be for decision makers and client groups to sit down together and, on the basis of information available to them, produce a final assessment of needs through a process of negotiation.

To sum up, the adult pupils would be motivated to play an active part in literacy programs if they participated in assessing their needs (in order of priorities agreeed upon) with curriculum planners. But these priorities could be organized around the established fields of study.

Further, it was concluded that most graduates were interested in reading text books which gave them not only reading skills, but also some knowledge which they needed for their daily work and life. Most graduates were not interested in reading story books which they considered to be not beneficial to them.

Moreover, it was concluded that there was an inadequacy of literacy text books at the CEC. For example, a book was shared between two graduates in the classroom. As such, graduates could not borrow any books for more reading practice during leisure time. The CEC's library also had no books. During the entire research period, there were no books in it. It was difficult to determine how many books the library had because a record for library books could not be traced.

It was also concluded that some of the teaching/learning strategies used in the classroom were inappropriate to adult learners. Some strategies were fast paced. In some cases, reading dominated discussions and there were little or no written work assignments given to the graduates. The outcome of the use of the inappropriate strategies was indicated in some graduates' persistent traditional beliefs about cause and effect. Instead of the graduates learning about the cause and effect of the phenomena through discussions and other strategies, they indicated they had been spoon fed. This resulted in some cases in the teachers' and the graduates' perspectives concerning the cause and effect of diseases and rain being parallel.

Related to the use of inappropriate teaching/learning strategies was the lack of discussion beyond the classroom that should have been concerned with production processes. As such, it was concluded that most graduates could not put their acquired theory into practice. Some did it only after the village government had directed them to do so.

Based on data analysis, it was also concluded that some graduates preferred to be taught by elementary school teachers to ex-elementary school graduates. They believed the teacher had knowledge and did not suffer from an inferiority complex as the ex-elementary school graduates did. As such, they had confidence in the teachers and not in the ex-elementary school graduates whom they considered as failures. To them, to be taught by a failure was risky.

Further, during the practical season, no demonstration plots were conducted for the pupils by any Agricultural Extension Officer working closely with literacy teachers. As such, the graduates could not meet at the demonstration plots as proposed in the program. Apart from the graduates' application of their acquired theory on their private and communal farms, it was concluded that the program's link between the theory and practice was almost non existent. The theoretical teaching season and the practical season were divorced.

It was also concluded that the CEC's library was not being fully utilized even at the time when it had books because the temporary librarians sometimes never showed up. These librarians had little interest in their jobs because their promised monthly allowance had not been forthcoming.

Furthermore, it was concluded that the CEC lacked or had little stationery for the post-functional literacy program. Because of the shortage of stationery, some classes bought exercise books out of the class 'udoba' (fines) in order to alleviate the problem. The purchased exercise books were distributed to the class. The shortage of stationery resulted in little or no written work being assigned to the graduates.

Another result of the lack of stationery was that the graduates lacked competence in some literacy skills. For example, some graduates' unsatisfactory performance in the literacy test administered by the researcher supports this conclusion. Some graduates who did the test could only write their first names and not their surnames.

Further, the 1983 Fourth National Adult Education Literacy Examination results for the village were not encouraging. Out of 142 candidates who sat for the examination, only four were successful. Two of those who passed in the examination were ex-elementary school pupils grades 2 and 4 respectively. The rest had no formal schooling at all (Itambu's letter, August 22, 1984).

It was also concluded that the graduates' class attendance was poor. The problem of poor class attendance was discussed at the village government's meeting(s). Moreover some graduates reported to the researcher several cases of their classmates who had paid the 'udoba' (fines) because of their poor attendance.

According to the informants who participated in the study, some graduates regarded class attendance as a way of delaying them from their daily socio-economic activities. Since they considered themselves as being old, their participation in the post-functional literacy program was not going to give them any salaried jobs after achieving level VI of the program. One of their arguments was that even some of the youth in the village who had received formal education had no jobs; how could they expect to get paid employment? So to attend or not to attend classes depended on the graduates' perceived benefits of the program. This meant that even the use of the class 'udoba' by-laws might not alleviate the problem of poor class attendance.

Although most graduates had not achieved self-sufficiency in food because of recurrent unfavourable weather conditions and lack of adequate principles-knowledge, how-to-knowledge and intermediate technology, it was concluded that the program had some covert and overt effects on the lives of most graduates in terms of social, cultural, political and economic aspects. For example, the qualitative effects of the program on the lives of the graduates as Kassam and Masisi (1978) put it, indicated that their life was better than it had been before. Some were playing different important social and cultural roles in their family circles, community and in the village government. They were also participating in co-operative and/or communal farm activities.

Moreover, it was concluded that the village government's socio-economic program was a vehicle which facilitated the graduates' acquired theory to be put into practice or application. As indicated in the data analysis, the post-functional literacy program at the CEC was part and parcel of the village government's socio-economic development program. Some covert and overt effects on some graduates' lives had been brought about by the village government's campaigns and directives based on the 'udoba' by-laws. The village government also had specialists and contacts with the world outside the village. In addition to this, it had the means such as the 10 ton truck which was used for fetching some of the agricultural inputs such as a variety of seeds for drought resistant crops and seedlings for tree planting needed by the village. Without the village government's socio-economic development program, most graduates' acquired theory might have not been put into practice. Sometimes, the graduates still turned to traditional medicines or God or insecticides as their last resort after they had failed to solve their problems by using modern methods. But the village government's emphasis on the 'udoba' by-laws might result in some graduates being alienated.

On the basis of the data analysis, it was concluded that the introduction of any innovation from top down without taking into account whether or not the innovation was compatible with the value system of the community was likely to fail. For example, the graduates' cultural background brought to the program impeded them from using their knowledge which they had acquired from the program. The oxen ploughs laying outside the CEC's compound are a good example. And some graduates' resistance to adopt modern agricultural methods of planting millet in rows is another.

Further, the introduction of better agricultural machinery and implements into a rural setting without the accompanying technical know-how was likely to be faced by improper mechanical maintenance problems and misuse.

Finally, it was concluded that the rationale on which a graduate was given three days a week to work on a 3 acre private farm or more and three days a week on a 0.5 acre of the communal farm was unrealistic.

Recommendations

To Policy Makers

This study attempted to understand the impact of the post-functional literacy program on the lives of its graduates. On the basis of the findings, the following recommendations are made to policy makers concerned with the socio-economic returns of the program who might find the information useful for modification purposes.

1. Before socio-economic changes are introduced into a community, studies be conducted to find out if the proposed changes are compatible with the social values of that community. The introduction of oxen ploughs, for example, into a community which considers the use of oxen for cultivation as an act of brutality supports this recommendation.

2. The introduction of agricultural machinery and implements and other machines into a rural community be accompanied by technical know-how. The village government leadership, for instance, be re-educated and helped to take initiative in sending some villagers, particularly ex-elementary school graduates, to be trained as mechanics. This could enable the village to have its flour mill and water pump machines, tractor and 10 ton lorry serviced and mechanically maintained regularly.

3. The village government leaders engaged in the planning and implementation of socio-economic development programs be re-educated on strategies needed in securing the villagers' participation in adopting or rejecting innovations. A reliance on the 'udoba' by-laws as a means of bringing socio-economic changes is likely to result in the innovation being discontinued after pressure has been removed.

4. The village government leadership be advised by agricultural experts on matters concerning time allotment to individuals' work on their private farms and their communal farms respectively. As stated in the Sunday News, Tanzania (No. 1612 of February 26, 1984), the country's aim is "to be self-sufficient in food at individual, village, district, regional and national levels."

5. All the experts stationed at the village level be involved, where possible, in teaching the adults. They should not wait until there is a crisis and then begin teaching them.

6. Research findings be disseminated to various relevant sectors of the economy involved in the planning and implementation of the socio-economic programs.

To Policy Makers/Program Designers

In view of the fact that Tanzania had limited resources and that adults were part-time learners because they had to perform various other social, cultural, political and economic activities within and outside their community, it is strongly recommended that:

1. The number of subjects taught in the post-functional literacy program be reduced so that it is consonant with the time available and the country's limited resources.

2. The reduced number of subjects be based on a final assessment of learning needs through negotiation to be carried out by curriculum designers and prospective adult learners (Bhola, 1979). This means that the curriculum should be society centred in which the needs of the learners are addressed "in their order of priority" (Ndunguru, cited in Kinshaga, 1977; Crone, 1978, p. 119). A comprehensive curriculum based on societal needs is needed to enable the learners to develop as total citizens and function effectively in their environment. For example, the economy of Mlowa Barabarani was growing. The learners needed skills and knowledge that could help them to comprehend, for instance, what it meant for their village to have assets and income totaling hundreds, thousands or millions of Tanzanian shillings.

3. For the purpose of promoting the country's national culture, handicraft subjects be integrated in the post-functional literacy program.

4. All post-functional literacy programs be supplied with adequate and appropriate problem-solving oriented text books as well as stationery.

5. All teachers of post-functional literacy program be provided with some courses in andragogy. Moreover, the functional literacy teachers preparing adult learners for the post-functional literacy program should be adequately educated. Their failure to prepare the adult learners, particularly in the literacy skills, will impede the learners from benefiting from the post-functional literacy program.

6. With the achievement of the Universal Primary Education in Tanzania, adult education programs are likely to change in some years to come. A new type of learners with new learning needs in terms of course content, human and nonhuman resources, for example, will emerge. It is recommended that these new learning needs to be should be identified and included in the long term adult education development plan.

To Teachers

The following recommendations are directed to teachers who are concerned with the post-functional literacy program in terms of delivery.

1. There should be an up-to-date record of National Adult Education Literacy Examinations and feedback to the learners.

2. The educational goals of the post-functional literacy program

should be discussed by the learners in class and made clear to them. This will help the learners to match their expectations of the programs with the adult educational goals.

3. In the class, reading and writing should be taught simulteaneously. And adequate and appropriate written assignments should be given to the learners to enable them to acquire the skills and knowledge needed through practice.

4. There should be discussions that would go beyond the classroom. These discussions must be concerned with some production processes (Kassam & Masisi, 1978). As Nyerere (in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 49) puts it, adult education

> . . . must help men to think clearly; it must enable them to examine the possible courses of action; to make a choice between those alternatives in keeping with their own purposes; and it must equip them with the ability to translate their decisions into reality.

Further, Freire (1970, p. 71), proposing the use of problem-posing theory and practice in education, says:

> Problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality. . . . makes them [students] critical thinkers. . . . bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of men as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation.

5. A qualified teacher should take charge of the library as part of extra curricular instead of depending on a temporary librarian. This will enable the adult learners to utilize the library fully. Second, the teacher is an employee and as such the person is answerable to the authority or employer. A temporary librarian is not because this individual is not legally an employee.

Third, the teacher will also be in a position to account for any loss of books.

6. The system of having demonstration plots for the pupils during the practical season be revived and strengthened. As Nyerere (in Hinzen et al., 1979, p. 53) stresses, ". . . the adult learner must be learning by doing, just as . . . a child learns to walk by walking."

7. There should be a link between the theoretical teaching season and the practical season. During the theoretical teaching season, the adult learners could share experiences through discussions, identify the kind of problems encountered when applying their theoretical knowledge and how they alleviated them.

8. The emphasis put on class attendance by relying on negative reinforcement through the class 'udoba' by-laws be gradually replaced by positive reinforcement. If most of the learners' concerns are dealt with effectively, class attendance might not be a problem.

To Researchers

1. Why some graduates of the post-functional literacy program who had reached levels III and IV were unable to use their acquired literacy skills effectively. Had they lapsed into illiteracy at the time of research?

2. What actually goes on in the post-functional literacy classes?

3. Why the attendance of the post-functional literacy classes was poor.

4. What are the teachers' perspectives of the post-functional literacy program?

5. Researchers in the field of agriculture investigate the

effectiveness of 'mikunghuni' used as preservatives for cereal. And the side effects (if any) of 'mikunghuni' on the health of the people.

This study has presented the reality of the effects of the post-functional literacy program on the lives of its graduates. The study has been based on the graduates' perspectives of the program as interpreted by the researcher-participant.

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APPENDICES

7

APPENDIX A

LITERACY DEFINITIONS AND LEVELS

LITERACY DEFINITIONS AND LEVELS

The assessment of erradication [sic] of illiteracy was done through the national literacy test, the administration of which was undertaken twice on a nation wide basis in August 1975 and August 1977. The philosophy upon which the national literacy tests were based was stipulated in a document issued by the Tanzania UNDP/UNESCO literacy Project, Mwanza in 1974. Briefly, the document urged for a national definition for literacy to be established to adopt a uniform criteria for working out attainment levels in assessment of the national literacy campaign. It also presented arguments for and against comparing primary school grades with levels attained by participants in the functional literacy programmes. The debate went as far as questioning the application of the concepts of "pass" and/or "fail" and "learning" as a process that runs a long continuum. The document presented a total of seventeen different literacy definitions which had been used at one time or other in various parts of the world by national and international organizations and institutions as well as researchers. Finally, the document made some proposals about possible levels of literacy and argued for a nation-wide assessment of the literacy campaign.

The proposals, having been deliberated upon by the appointed national committee, were finally accepted and approved by the ministry of national education.

Literacy definitions and levels

A combination of the following definitions was adopted to define a literate person in the Tanzanian context.

(a) A person is literate if he is able to read and write a letter within the family, is able to locate streets, buildings etc. observe danger warnings in the streets and at work; follow simple directions in many everyday situations, be able to read a newspaper to keep up with current happenings and to obtain information; be able to keep records; be able to read "how to do it yourself" books; little books on better living, better foods, better ways of farming etc.

(b) An individual is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainment in reading, writing and arithmetic makes it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and community development.

(c) Adult literacy, an essential element in overall development must be closely related to economic and social development priorities, and to present and future manpower needs. All efforts should, therefore, tend towards functional literacy. Rather than an end in itself, literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing man for a social, civic and economic role that goes beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training consisting merely the teaching of reading and writing. The very process of learning acquiring more information that can immediately be used to improve living standards; reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world, and should immediately open the way to basic human culture.

Adopted also were the levels of achievements by functional literacy participants as reflected by the following:

Level I

A participant who has enrolled but must have attended 2/3 of the literacy sessions in any one year of literacy activities.

Level II

A participant who qualifies for level I above, but who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:

Sub-level (i). A person who is able to recognise words and/or symbols, writes letters of the syllabuses, writes numbers and/or arithmetic signs including mental calculations.

Sub-level (ii). A person who is able to read a short, simple meaningful sentence, is able to write a simple short sentence and can add and substract one figure sum.

Level III

A person who qualifies for level II above, but who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:

Sub-level (i). A person who is able to read a short, simple meaningful sentence, is able to write a simple short sentence and can add and substract two figure sums.

Sub-level (ii). A person who possesses mastery over symbols in their written form, or is able to encode and decode written messages. Such a person should be able to perform the following: be able to read fluently a simple text with understanding (the text itself being based on common syllables and vocabularies in the functional primers and according to the most frequent syllables and vocabularies used in the swahili language). He should also be able to write a simple short message of passage; add and substract three figure numbers, multiply two figure numbers, and divide by one figure.

Level IV

A person who continuously uses the acquired literacy skills. Such a person should have qualified in level III above but also should be able to read and write messages; be able to read a newspaper (for example, "UHURU" "MFANYAKAZI" "KIONGOZI" "UKULIMA WA KISASA" "ELIMU HAINA MWISHO" "JIENDELEZE" "TUFJIELIMISHE" etc.) to keep up with current happenings and obtain information; is able to read "How To Do It Yourself" books, little books on better living, better food, better ways of farming, etc; and be able to keep records and solve simple arithmetic problems. He should also be able to keep a simple book of accounts on income and expenditure.

Those participants who had achieved levels III and IV in reading, writing and arithmetic combined were to be considered as literacy graduates and those participants who had achieved level IV were to be considered as functionally literate.

(Z. J. Mpogolo, 1980)

APPENDIX B

GUIDING QUESTIONS

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Graduates' life history prior to enrollment in the programs.

    - When and where were they born?
    - Level of education reached during childhood.
    - If they had no schooling during childhood, why?
    - What kind of technology and methods did they use?
    - What beliefs and values did they hold about reality?
    - What were their
        - marital status
        - family sizes
        - occupations
        - incomes/expenditure
        - relationships with various social groups?

2. Graduates' intentions to enroll in the functional literacy program.

    - When did they enroll in the program?
    - Why did they enroll in the program?
    - Did they get what they wanted from the program?
    - If no, why?
    - Did they participate in curriculum planning?
    - If they did, what contributions did they make?

3. Graduates enrollment in the post-functional literacy program.

    - Why did they enroll in the program?
    - What did they learn from the program?
    - Which contextual aspects in the classroom, community and physical setting influenced the perspectives of the graduates?
    - How appropriate was their learning to their needs?
    - What were the strengths of the program?
    - Why were these considered as the strengths?
    - What were the weaknesses of the program?
    - Why were these considered as the weaknesses?
    - How could the program be improved?

4. The impact of the post-functional literacy program on the lives of the graduates

    - How were they using their literacy skills and knowledge?
    - Graduates' record keeping for the economic activities.
    - What were their production targets?
    - What type of technology and methods were they using for production?
    - What were their incomes/expenditures?
    - What successes and/or problems were being experienced?
    - Could the problems be alleviated?

- If yes, how?
- What observable changes could be found?
- How did these observable changes come about?
- What were the graduates' social relationships with various social groups?
- Were there any changes in the graduates' beliefs and values about reality?
- What were the graduates' expectations in life?
- How did the program improve the graduates' standards of living?
- How were the graduates' reading materials like?
- What did the test in the use of literacy skills show?
- How often did the graduates use the CEC library?
- What kind of general questions were raised by the graduates?

APPENDIX C

RESEARCH CLEARANCE FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

WIZARA YA ELIMU YA TAIFA

S.L.P. 9121,
Dar es Salaam.

Kumb. Na. EDI. A.3/10/Vol. II/76

5th Novemba, 1983

Kwa yeyote Mhusika,
Mkoa wa Dodoma.

YAH: Ndugu D. Y. KINSHAGA

Ndugu aliyetajwa hapo juu ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha Alberta - Canada.

Hivi sasa yupo katika kipindi cha kufanya utafiti katika Mkoa wa Dodoma kuhusu elimu ya watu wazima.

Wizara ya Elimu imemruhusu kufanya utafiti huo Mkoani kati ya Novemba 1983 na Aprili 1984.

Unaombwa kumpatia msaada na ushirikiano atakaouhitaji.

E.B. Temu
k.n.y. KATIBU MKUU

APPENDIX D

LETTER FROM THE DODOMA REGIONAL AUTHORITY ADDRESSED TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU

OFISI YA MKUU WA MKOA
S.L.P. 914,
DODOMA.

Kumb. Na. ED/U.10/50.

24 November, 1983

Kaimu Mkuu wa Chuo,
Chuo Kikuu Dar-es-Salaam,
S. L. P. 35048,
DAR ES SALAAM.

NDUGU D. Y. KINSHAGA.

Aliyetajwa hapo juu amefika katika Mkoa huu kwa madhumuni ya kufanya utafiti kuhusu Elimu ya Watu Wazima.

Kufuatana na taarifa alizozileta kimaandishi inaonyesha kuwa anachukua mafunzo katika Chuo Kikuu cha Alberta - Canada.

Hata hivyo kwa mujibu wa utaratibu wa Serikali mkoa huu hauwezi kumruhusu aendeshe utafiti wake bila kibali cha maandishi toka Chuo Kukuu cha Dar-es-Salaam kama ilivyowahi kufanyika kwa watafiti wengine waliotangulia.

Kwa sababu hiyo tunamrudisha huyo ndugu huko ili apatiwe kibali cha kumwezesha kufanya utafiti huo katika mkoa huu wa Dodoma.

J. KAPELA
Kny. MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELBO (M)
DODOMA

For Regional Development Director
Dodoma

APPENDIX E

LETTER FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ADDRESSED TO THE TANZANIA NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

WIZARA YA ELIMU YA TAIFA

Anwani ya Simu: "Elimu",
Dar es Salaam
Simu: 27211
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Sanduku La Posta 9121
Dar es Salaam

Kumbukumbu Nambari ..Misc...

Prof. A.S. Msangi
T N S R C
Dar es Salaam.

ND. D. KINSHAGA

Nd. D. Kinshaga anafanya utafiti juu ya "Rural graduates' perspective of the post-functional Literacy program in Tanzania". Anafanya Ph.D yake katika Chuo Kikuu cha Alberta Canada.

Nitashukuru kama maombi yake yetashughulikiwa mapema ili aweze kukamilisha utafiti wake kabla ya kurudi chuoni.

M.S. Muze
KAMISHNA WA ELIMU YA TAIFA

APPENDIX F

LETTER FROM THE TANZANIA NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL ADDRESSED TO THE DODOMA REGIONAL AUTHORITY

BARAZA LA TAIFA LA UTAFITI WA KISAYANSI

(TANZANIA NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL)

Telegrams: UTAFITI Dar es Salaam

Phone: 25802; 23379; 23349

Telex: 41177

P.O. Box 4302
Kivukoni Front
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

2 December, 1983

In reply please quote:
Ref. No. NSR/RA.47/P

Ndugu Daudi Y. Kinshaga
c/o Ndugu A. J. Kitonka
Ministry of National Education
P.O. Box 9121
DAR ES SALAAM.

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE

1. Tanzania National Scientific Research Council wishes to inform you that clearance has been granted to enable you to conduct research in Tanzania on your proposed topic entitled: RURAL GRADUATES: PERSPECTIVES OF THE POST-FUNCTIONAL LITERACY CURRICULUM IN TANZANIA.

2. The period for which this permission has been granted is from: 2 DECEMBER 1983 - 31 MAY 1984 and will cover the following areas: DODOMA AND DAR ES SALAAM REGIONS.

3. Your local contact will be:
   Ndugu M. S. Muze
   Ministry of National Education
   P.O. Box 9121,
   Dar es Salaam.

4. You will be required to submit a report of your research findings to the Director-General, Tanzania National Scientific Research Council.

5. Whenever possible, you should discuss your research work with your local contact and keep him informed of any progress.

6. After completion of your research and before departure to your home country, you will be required to report to the Director-

General, Tanzania National Scientific Research Council. (To fill in FORM E)

I hope you will enjoy your stay in Tanzania and wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. A. E. Lyaruu
for: DIRECTOR-GENERAL
TANZANIA NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL

Copy to: Ndugu M. S. Muze,
Ministry of National Education
P.O. Box 9121,
Dar es Salaam.

Regional Development Director
Dodoma.

Regional Education Officer
Dodoma.

APPENDIX G

LETTER FROM THE DODOMA REGIONAL AUTHORITY ADDRESSED TO THE DODOMA REGIONAL EDUCATION OFFICER AND THE DODOMA DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (RURAL)

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU

CONFIDENTIAL

MKOA WA DODOMA.

Anwani ya Simu: "Regcom"
Simu Nambari 23241 au 23242

Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa,
S.L.P. 914,
Dodoma.

Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Kumbukumbu Nambari .CE.10/15.....

8 Desemba, 1983

Afisa Elimu (M),
DODOMA.

Mkurugenzi Mtendaji wa Wilaya,
DODOMA VIJIJINI.

KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI - NDUGU DAUDI Y. KINSHAGA

Baraza la Taifa la Utafiti wa Kisayansi limempa Ndugu Daudi Y. Kinshaga kibali cha kufanya utafiti juu ya "Rural Graduates: Perspectives of the Post-Functional Literacy Curriculum in Tanzania" kuanzia tarehe 2/12/83 hadi tarehe 31/5/1984.

Tafadhali mpeni msaada pale mtakapoweza.

J.K. KAOLE
Kny: MKURUGENZI WA MAENDELEO (H)
DODOMA

Nakala: Ndugu Kaudi Y. Kinshaga
c/o Ndugu A.J. Kitonka,
Ministry of National Education,
P.O. Box 9121,
DAR ES SALAAM - Barua ya Kumb. Na. NSR/RA.47/P ya tarehe 2/12/83 yahusika.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX H

LETTER FROM THE DODOMA DISTRICT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (RURAL) ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN, MLOWA BARABARANI VILLAGE

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

OFISI YA WAZIRI MUKUU

MKOA WA DODOMA

Anwani ya Simu: "ADMIN"
Simu Nambari 20438.

Ofisi Ya Kamishna wa Wilaya,
Sanduku la Posta 911.
Dodoma.

Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Kumbukumbu Nambari E.10/8/31

Mwenyekiti,
Kijiji cha Mlowa Barabarani,
Dodoma Vijijini.

KIBALI CHA KUFANYA UTAFITI WA MASOMO
NDUGU DAUD Y. KINSHAGA:

Tunafurahi kukujulisha kuwa Ndugu Daud Y. Kinshaga amepewa ruhusa na Taifa kufanya Utafiti kuhusu Elimu ya Watu Wazima katika kijiji chako.

Tafadhali apewe kila msaada ili akamilishe shughuli hii muhimu.

(D.B. Mashomhe)
MKURUGENZI MTENDAJI WA WILAYA
HALIMASHAURI YA WILAYA
DODOMA VIJIJINI

Nakala kwa:- Ndugu Daud Y. Kinshaga.

" " :- Ndugu A.J. Kitonka,
Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa,
S.L.P. 9121,
Dar es Salaam.

" " :- Mkurugenzi wa Maendeleo (M),
Dodoma.

/gm.:

APPENDIX I

RESEARCHER'S LETTER OF THANKS TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

Department of Elementary Education
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2G5

November 7, 1984

The Director-General
Tanzania National Scientific Research Council
P.O. Box 4302
Kivukoni Front
Tanzania
East Africa

Dear Sir:

Re: Research Clearance

Thank you very much for granting me a research clearance that enabled me to conduct my research in my own country, Tanzania, from December 2, 1983 to May 3, 1984. The study was done at Mlowa Barabarani Village in Dodoma District (Rural). I am now writing my dissertation on "Rural Graduates' Perspectives of the Post-Functional Literacy Curriculum in Tanzania."

I would like to thank all those who assisted in making this research a success. I am particularly indebted to the Dodoma regional, district (rural), Mlowa Barabarani Village government and party leaders and the interviewees.

Yours sincerely

Daudi Y. Kinshaga

Copies to:

Mdugu M. S. Muze
Ministry of Education
P.O. Box 9121
Dar-es-Salaam
Tanzania, East Africa

The Regional Development Director
P.O. Box 914
Dodoma
Tanzania, East Africa

The District Executive Director
Dodoma District (Rural)
P.O. Box 911
Dodoma
Tanzania, East Africa

APPENDIX J

PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING SOME OF THE PLANTS GROWN ON MLOWA BARABARAN FARMS

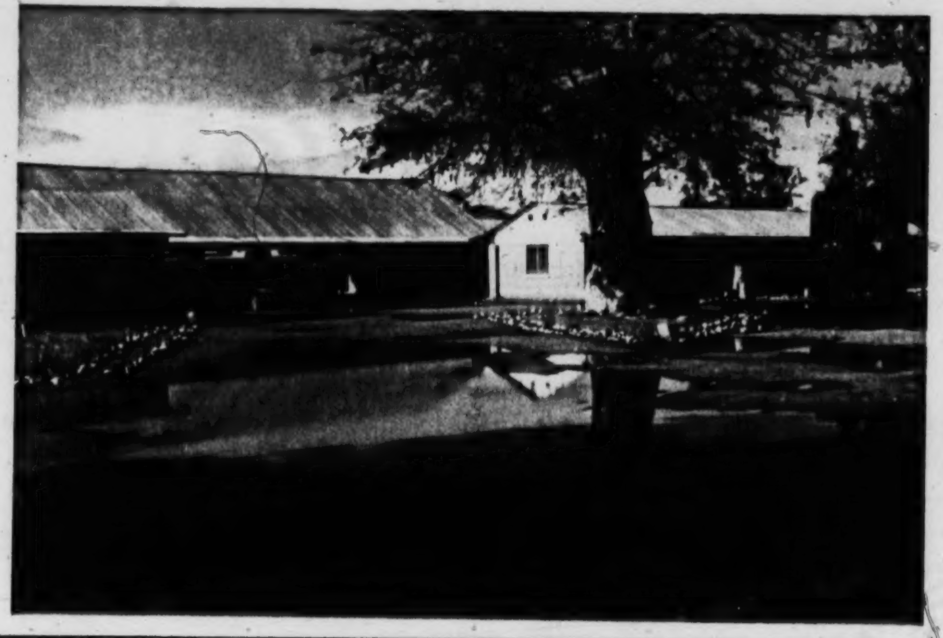
MILLET FARM

CASTOR OIL PLANTS

COLOURED PICTURES
Images en couleur

APPENDIX K

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOME COMMUNITY EDUCATION BUILDINGS



COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTRE BUILDINGS SHOWING THE ASSEMBLY HALL AND CO-OPERATIVE SHOP

COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTRE SHOWING CLASSROOMS

COLOURED PICTURES
Images en couleur

APPENDIX L

NAMES OF ALL THE INFORMANTS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

NAMES OF ALL THE INFORMANTS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

Graduates of the Post-Functional Literacy Program:

CHIKOTI, Musa
KAHINDA, Lea
LEUNA, James
LEENA, Yona
MAOPE, Jeremia
MHUZI, Zeita
MSAMBILI, Michael
MWALU, Rehema
MWANO, Daudi
NDAHANI, Daniel
NDAHANI, Matayo
NDAHANI, Mlimka
NDAMA, Anderson
SEMWALI, Mtemi
SOGOI, Jackson
SOLI, Daudi
TUPA, Charles

Others:

ITAMBU, S.	Co-ordinator for the Community Education Centre, Mlowa Barabarani.
KACHINGWE, M.	Rural Medical Aid at the CEC.
MOSHA, P.	Ward Education Co-ordinator, stationed at Mlowa Barabarani.
MUYOMBO, M.	Chairman of Mlowa Barabarani Village Government and Chama Cha Mapinduzi Branch; Graduate of Adult Education Literacy Program 1952-1953 with 18 years experience as a cetechist. He had been to Hungary on educational study tour.
NGAYOA, K.	Divisional Livestock Development Officer, stationed at Mlowa Barabarani.
RWEYEMAMU, C.L.	M.Sc. Graduate Student in Agriculture, University of Alberta (1984) held informal discussions with the researcher.
SENG'UNDA, J.	Primary Court Magistrate, stationed at Mlowa Barabarani—informal discussions.

APPENDIX M

ARITHEMETIC TEST

ARITHEMETIC TEST

1. 200 - 199 =

2. 300 ÷ 10 =

3. 10 × 10 =

4. 17 + 33 =

APPENDIX N

EXCERPT OF THE LETTER FROM INFORMANT E

Kumwako uwe Bwane daudi

Salamu Sana

The DATE 18/3 1984

Kwako Bwana mpendwa wa moyo wa upendo yaani Bwana daudi pokeya wingi wa Salam zangu mimi wako wa moyo wa yimani yaani mr. ---- ndugu - baada ya wingi wa Salam msamahani tutazidi kuongeya. hali ndugu usinichukiye takasa moyo wako. uwe mweupe. ndugu. Sababu ya waubi hili mwenziyo nimezidiwa nyumbani mwangu. yaani Lewo siku ya tatu 3 bila chakula yaani kusema kweli nimezidiwa nami ndani ya nyumba sina chochote. kwa hiyo. ndugu ukiwa unaweza kuwa na chochote unisayidiye ndugu yaani ikiwa unga au fedha nawomba msaada kwako ndugu. Wasalam yaani -----

APPENDIX O

BOOKS WHICH SOME GRADUATES HAD IN THEIR RESPECTIVE HOMES

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Bible. (3 copies)

Kulumbila Mulungu Mu Nong ya Cigogo, 1976. (2 copies)

Chama Cha Mapinduzi Ilani ya Uchaguzi (Election Manifesto) Kwa ajili ya Uchaguzi wa Rais na Wabunge by Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere, 1980.

Ugogo na Wilaya zake, Dodoma, Mpwapwa na Manyoni by Dodoma Literacy Committee, East African Literature, 1965.

Kitabu Cha Elimu ya Watu Wazima Siasa Hatua ya Tano: Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, Dar-es-Salaaim: Costal Printing Works, 1978. (2 copies)

Kitabu Cha Elimu ya Watu Wazima Hesabu: Hatua ya Tano: Wizara ya Elimu.

Kitabu Cha Elimu ya Watu Wazima Sayansi Kimu, Chakula bora na Afya: Hatua ya Tano Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, 1978.

Jifunze Kusoma Ufagaji Bora wa Ng'ombe. (3 copies)

Mwanamalundi. (3 copies)

Mtu ni Afya: Jipatie Afya Bora, DSM, National Printing Company, 1972.

Jifunze Kusoma Kilimo Bora Cha Mahindi, DSM, National Printing Company, 1973. (3 copies)

Katiba ya CCM, 1982

Misitu ni Mali, DSM, National Printing Company, 1980.

Kazi ni Uhai, TANU, Darubini No. 4, 1974.

Mila na Desturi: Kitabu Cha 1, DSM, Printpak Tanzania.

Malimwengu 2 Muhammad Seyid Din na Hadithi Nyingine. London: Sheldon Press, 1965.

Mlezi (magazine) 1978.